

# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

---

Vol. XXXIV.]

MARCH, 1923.


No. I.

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RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE,  
TRICHUR, COCHIN STATE.



The seal of the Folk-Lore Society is an oval emblem. It features a central circular area with a decorative border. Inside this circle, the words "FOLK-LORE SOCIETY" are written in a circular arrangement. The outer border of the oval contains a series of small, stylized figures or symbols.

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## **EVENING MEETINGS.**

**WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20th, 1922.**

MR. A. R. WRIGHT (VICE-PRESIDENT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

THE election of Mr. Isaac Jackson as a member, and the enrolment of the Council of Education, Johannesburg, as subscribers, were announced.

THE resignations of Col. T. C. Hodson and Mr. W. J. Oakley and the death of Mrs. Holland were also announced.

DR. GASTER delivered a lecture on "Rumanian Popular Legends of St. Mary," and in the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Mr. W. P. Merrick, Dom. Beza, Mme. Zarchi and Miss Canziani took part.

THE meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Gaster for his lecture.

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**WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17th, 1923.**

MR. A. R. WRIGHT (VICE-PRESIDENT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

THE election of Mr. S. Burstein, Miss E. Rohde, Mr. T. A.

Stephens and Mr. T. Fairman Ordish as members of the Society was announced.

The resignations of Mr. Vernon Rendall and Mr. J. A. Blaud and the death of Miss Burne were also announced.

The Chairman moved a resolution of condolence with the family of Miss Burne in the following terms:—"The members of the Folk-Lore Society have heard with profound regret of the death of Miss C. S. Burne, for so many years their fellow-member in the Society. Miss Burne has served the Society in all possible capacities—as President, Vice-President, Editor and member of Council and Committees—and has endeared herself to all by her freely shared learning and her many attractive personal qualities. It is therefore with a keen sense of personal and individual loss that the Society requests the Secretary to record its regret upon the minutes and to convey its condolences to the family of Miss Burne."

The Rev. Canon J. Roscoe read a paper in two parts entitled respectively "The Power of Magic" and "Mourning and its Objects," and in the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Miss Canziani, Mrs. Banks, the Rev. E. O. James, Miss Coote Lake and Mr. Coote Lake took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Canon Roscoe for his paper.

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**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21st, 1923.**

**FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING.**

THE PRESIDENT (MR. H. BALFOUR) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last annual meeting were read and confirmed.

The 45th Annual Report of the Council, with the Cash Account and Balance Sheet for the year 1922, duly audited, were presented to the meeting, and on the motion of Dr. Gaster, seconded by Mr. Whale, it was resolved that the same be received and adopted.



The following, having been nominated by the Council as President, Vice-Presidents, Members of Council and Officers for the ensuing year, were, in the absence of any further nominations, declared to be duly elected :—

*As President*—H. Balfour, M.A.

*As Vice-Presidents*—The Rt. Hon. Lord Abercromby, Sir E. W. Brabrook, C.B., V.P.S.A., Edward Clodd, W. Crooke, C.I.E., D.Sc., Litt.D., Sir J. G. Frazer, LL.D., Litt.D., M. Gaster, Ph.D., A. C. Haddon, D.Sc., F.R.S., E. S. Hartland, F.S.A., LL.D., R. R. Marett, D.Sc., W. H. D. Rouse, Litt.D., The Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce, LL.D., D.D.S., A. R. Wright, F.S.A.

*As Members of Council*—Mrs. M. M. Banks, F. C. Bartlett, Miss E. Canziani, G. R. Carline, E. K. Chambers, Lady Gomme, P. J. Heather, W. L. Hildburgh, M.A., Ph.D., Miss E. Hull, The Rev. E. O. James, B.Litt., F.R.A.I., F.G.S., A. J. Major, O.B.E., Miss Moutray Read, C. G. Seligman, M.D., Col. J. Shakespeare, C. J. Tabor, His Honour J. S. Udal, F.S.A., Professor E. Westermarck, Ph.D., G. Whale.

*As Hon. Treasurer*—Edward Clodd.

*As Hon. Auditor*—C. J. Tabor.

*As Secretary*—F. A. Milne, M.A.

*As Editor of "Folk-Lore"*—W. Crooke, C.I.E., D.Sc., Litt.D.

The President delivered his Presidential Address entitled "The Welfare of Primitive Peoples."

On the motion of Dr. Gaster, seconded by Mr. Wright, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the President for his address, which was duly acknowledged, and the meeting concluded with a hearty vote of thanks to the retiring members of Council, proposed from the Chair.

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**TUESDAY, 13th MARCH, 1923.**

THE PRESIDENT (MR. H. BALFOUR) IN THE CHAIR.

THE President introduced the Esthonian Minister, H.E. Dr. Kallas, who read a paper on "Esthonian Folk-Lore". At the conclusion of the paper, the Secretary, at Dr. Kallas' request, read the folk-tale entitled "Videvik Koet and Amarite" (Twilight Dawn and Evening Twilight) and extracts from a ballad entitled "The Herald of War" from W. F. Kirby's *Hero of Esthonia*. A discussion followed in which the President, Dr. Gaster, Col. Shakespeare, Mr. B. Lloyd, Mrs. Lewis, and the Latvian Minister, H.E. Dr. Bisseneek, took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Kallas for his paper.

**WEDNESDAY, 21st MARCH, 1923.**

THE PRESIDENT (MR. H. BALFOUR) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the meetings held on January 17th and March 13th were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. H. Setwyn Jackson as a member of the Society was announced.

The Secretary, in the absence of Dr. Crooke, read a paper by him entitled "The Divāli, or Lamp Festival in India"; and in the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Col. Shakespeare, Miss de Kleen, Mr. Wright and Miss Canziani took part.

The meeting terminated with votes of thanks to Dr. Crooke for his paper and to the Secretary for reading it.

## FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

DURING the year the meetings have been fairly well attended; although the audience has on no occasion been large.

Thirty-two new members have been enrolled during the year, fifteen more than in 1921, and seven libraries have been added to the list of subscribers. Seven members have died, and fourteen have resigned; and the subscriptions of three libraries have been withdrawn. The number on the roll, therefore, should be fifteen more than a year ago—viz. 428 as against 413. A strenuous effort has been made during the year to get in arrears of subscriptions; and the effort has been crowned with a considerable degree of success. But there are some few members with whom it has been found impossible to get into touch; and the Council have had no alternative but to erase their names from the roll.

Among the deaths recorded are those of Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, M.D., F.R.S., and Mr. M. Longworth Dames. The loss of Dr. Rivers, late President of the Society, is one which will be keenly felt not only by folklorists but by anthropologists, psychologists and others, since his work was very far-reaching. He was one of the foremost anthropologists of the day, with a wide experience of field-work, and he both enlightened and stimulated other students. Mr. Longworth Dames joined the Society in 1892, and for many years rendered it invaluable service: both as a Member of Council and as a contributor to its publications. He was an earnest student of and a high

authority upon Oriental archaeology, history, linguistics and numismatics.

In accordance with their decision announced in the last annual report, the Council have enlarged the size of *Folk-Lore*, and it is possible that during the coming year it may be enlarged still further.

The amount received in subscriptions during the year was £470 8s. as against £406 7s. in 1921—an increase of £64 1s. due in a large measure to the amount of the arrears recovered. Interest on investments and money on deposit amounted to £40 9s. 3d., and the income of the Society from all sources to £571 14s. 3d. The revenue from sales during the twelve months ending 30th June was £60 17s., a slight falling off as compared with the preceding twelve months. The *Handbook of Folk-Lore* continues to sell very well. *Folk-Lore* cost £306 10s. as against £263 8s. 6d. in 1921, the increase in cost being far more than counter-balanced by the increased size of the volume.

The investments of the Society remain unchanged. Their value as at 31st December, 1922, was £790 as against £685 at 31st December, 1921. The balance to the credit of the Society after writing off a certain amount in respect of subscriptions in arrear, is £1159 0s. 6d. as against £1065 8s. 11d. a year ago and £966 17s. two years ago; so that the financial position of the Society is steadily improving.

Meetings of the Society have been held as follows:

- 18th January. "The Folklore of Herbals." Miss Eleanor Rohde.
- 15th February. Annual Meeting. Presidential Address. "The Symbolism of Rebirth." Dr. W. H. R. Rivers.
- 15th March. "Some notes on the folklore of the Algerian Hills and Desert." Mr. M. W. Hilton Simpson.
- 12th April. "Rumania as a mine of Folk-Lore." Mr. A. R. Wright.
- 17th May. "Some Tangkhul Folk Tales and some notes on Festivals of Assam Hill Tribes." Col. Shakespeare.
- 21st June. "The Evolution of Kinship" (The Frazer Lecture). Dr. E. S. Hartland.
- 22nd November. "The Story of the Flood." Prof. Elliot Smith.
- 18th December. "Rumanian popular legends of St. Mary." Dr. Gaster.

The papers read by Mr. M. W. Hilton Simpson, Mr. A. R. Wright, and Colonel Shakespeare were profusely illustrated by lantern slides.

During the session Colonel Shakespeare exhibited some bronze castings from the Chin Hills illustrating a sowing festival, a pipe, and syphons for drawing off rice beer; Mr. Carline, a moulded Buddha charm reputed to contain the ashes of a dead lama; Mr. Wright, a specimen of the "Stea" or Star carried by Rumanian singers at Christmastide; Miss Canziani, a fish, a cake doll, and a coloured egg from Vienna, and some children's whistles, a baby's hat, two slings, and a boat made out of a cuttle-fish from the Balearic Islands; and Miss Proctor, a quantity of Czeko-Slovakian peasant ware and costumes.

The Council are glad to note that the appeal they made a year ago for the exhibition of a large number of objects of folklore interest has to some extent been responded to; but there is still room for improvement, as on four evenings no exhibits were forthcoming.

Several additions have been made to the Society's library at University College during the year, particulars of which will in due course be chronicled in *Folk-Lore*. Enquiries are frequently made as to how access may be obtained to books in the library, and the Council would once again remind members that full particulars of the books and of the conditions subject to which they may be borrowed from the Library may at any time be obtained from the Hon. Librarian, Dr. R. W. Chambers, at the College.

The thirty-third volume of *Folk-Lore* has been issued during the year. As already stated, it is a larger volume than its predecessor, although considerably smaller than the volume issued prior to the War. It is impossible to forecast when the cost of paper and labour will have sunk to a level which will render it feasible to issue an additional volume. But the Council hope that the time may not be

far distant. Much, however, must depend upon the number of new members and subscribers.

The work initiated by the Brand Committee, which was dissolved in 1921, is now under the direction of Dr. Hartland as Editor-in-chief. Dr. Hartland was fortunate in securing the assistance of Miss Partridge in sorting the mass of material which came into his hands when he undertook the work, and he hopes at an early date to be able to report progress; but he has had so much other work on hand during the year that he has been unable to do so hitherto.

Among the members of the Society who attended the meeting of the British Association at Hull in September were Dr. Hadden, Dr. Hartland, Dr. J. L. Myres, Mr. Torday, and Mr. F. W. H. Migeod.

During the year several enquiries have been made for complete sets of the Society's publications; but unfortunately it is now impossible to supply a complete set owing to several of the volumes being out of print. The raising of the price of the publications does not appear to have conduced to the increase of the Society's revenue from sales. The Council are, however, satisfied that Messrs. W. Glaisner Ltd., the Society's publishers, are doing all in their power to dispose of its publications; and they can only hope that a larger revenue from sales will be yielded during the coming year.

Intending purchasers of salvage stock may inspect the same at Messrs. H. F. Fayers & Son's warehouse, 17 and 18 Bishop's Court, Old Bailey, E.C., where it is stored. Mr. C. J. Tabor of the White House, Knott's Green, Leyton, Essex, has kindly undertaken to be responsible for its sale. The *present* price is from 5s. to 7s. 6d. per volume with all faults, carriage paid.

The Cash Account and Balance Sheet for the year are submitted herewith.

HENRY BALFOUR,

*President.*

*January 17, 1923.*



CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1922.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
By Balance brought down,	£496 15 0	To <i>Roll-Lore</i> —	
" Subscriptions for 1921 (371),	£389 11 0	Printing Part 4, 1921,	£58 13 10
" " 1921 and earlier years (62),	65 2 0	" Parts 1, 2, 3, 1922,	347 36 2
" " 1923 in advance (15),	15 15 0	Expenses of Meetings—Hire of Rooms, etc.,	£306 10 10
		" Binding of Stock,	4 17 6
		Expenses of Management—	31 18 4
Dividends on Investments,	490 8 0	Subscription to London Association for Protection of Grade Insurances,	£2 2 0
" Interest on Money on deposit,	25 10 1	Postages, Stationery and Printing,	13 9 6
" Income Tax refunded,	3 7 11	Rent of Telephone,	59 9 11
" Sales, July 1, 1921—June 30, 1922,	11 2 5	Warehousing Stock,	2 12 6
		Secretary's Salary, (1½ year) and Allowances,	15 0 0
		Miscellaneous,	79 6 0
			0 14 0
		Expenses of Distribution of Publications,	- - -
		Commission on Sales,	- - -
		Balance in Bank on Current Account,	£372 7 9
		" Deposit,	200 0 0
		" in hands of Secretary,	0 18 0
			473 5 9



# BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1922.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
ESTIMATED AND LIQUIDATED.			
To Sundry Creditors,	£102 4 1	By Cash at Bankers,	£422 7 9
" Subscriptions in advance,	15 15 0	In hands of Secretary,	0 18 0
" Brand Committee,	25 18 0	" W. Glasberg Ltd., Sales (six months),	£473 5 9
" Secretary, Poundage,	36 6 0	" Subscriptions in arrears, 1922 (28),	33 2 1
" Composition Fees,	£6 8 0	" Investments as at Dec. 31st, 1922:—	29 8 0
" Less written off,	6 6 0	£900 Canada, 3½%, Stock at 98,	£390 0 0
" Balance to credit of Society,*	1145 10 9	£900 Natal, 3½%, Stock at 80,	400 0 0
			790 0 0
			<u>£1315 15 10</u>

In addition to the above there is a large stock of Publications of the Society, and also bonded copies of the Salvage Stock, of which no account is taken.

\* No allowance has been made for additional volumes, 1913 to 1922 inclusive.

I beg to congratulate the Society on the fact that of the 65 subscriptions in arrears shown in the Balance Sheet as on Dec. 31st, 1922, our Secretary has obtained payment of no less than 62.

EDWARD CLODE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

CHAS. J. TABOR, *Hon. Auditor.*

February 2nd, 1923.

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

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### THE WELFARE OF PRIMITIVE PEOPLES.

IN my address to you, as President of the Society at this annual meeting, I feel compelled at the outset to make special reference to the very serious gap in our ranks which has been caused by the death of our late President, my immediate predecessor, Dr. W. H. R. Rivers. Through his loss the Society has been bereft of a true friend, one whose versatility and far-ranging researches made him an efficient *Naison-officer* between those various sciences which together contribute towards the comprehensive study of Mankind. As President of our Society he was eminently equipped to bring our own special study of Folk-lore into true perspective with those other branches of science to which it is specially akin. His extensive reading and his own considerable researches in the field, coupled with exceptional synthetic powers and insight, enabled him to acquire a wide grip upon the work achieved by others and its relationship to the wider problems, and thus he was frequently able to weave a substantial fabric out of the scattered threads spun by individual researchers and observers.

It is not my intention here to detail the very varied work accomplished by this versatile anthropologist. But I have a special reason for prefacing my address to you with this brief reference to Dr. Rivers. He had recently shown proof of his sympathy with the more primitive peoples, who still form a not inconsiderable portion of the world's

population, and he manifested a deep concern as to their future and as to the administration of their affairs under that civilized control from which few have escaped. The parcelling-out of the inhabited world among a relatively few dominant peoples has resulted in practically all the backward races coming under the more or less direct supervision and control of peoples whose culture-advancement has been considered to establish a claim to dominate the "unrisen." This subject has been dealt with by Dr. Rivers in various publications,<sup>1</sup> with special reference to Melanesia, and it is abundantly evident that he was keenly alive to the importance of the problem involved.

I make no apology for taking the welfare of primitive peoples as the principal theme in my address, since the problem is one with which we are all, as civilized persons, concerned, whether we call ourselves folk-lorists, anthropologists, government officials, missionaries, traders or merely ordinary "men in the street." We all share in the responsibilities arising from our assumption of the right to control the destinies of peoples in a backward state of culture. Our prestige is at stake.

The past history of the effects of the contact of indigenous savage populations with exotic civilized invaders, is not reassuring and gives little grounds for complacency. The extermination of the Tasmanians, one of the greatest blots upon the record of our colonial enterprises was a direct result of the advent of the White man, who found the unsophisticated natives in possession of desirable land suited to civilized exploitation. Little or no attempt was officially made to study and so understand the natives and

<sup>1</sup> I would refer especially to his essay upon "The Government of Subject Peoples," in *Science and the Nation*, 1917; to his article in *The Lancet*, vol. 198, 1920, pp. 42 and 109; and to the volume upon *The Depopulation of Melanesia*, edited and contributed to by Dr. Rivers, 1922.

I may in addition to the above call attention to the *Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the Decrease of the Native Population of Fiji*, 1896, which is of great importance and very suggestive.

their "point of view," and but feeble and quite ineffectual efforts were made to prevent their dying out. The island was discovered in 1642; the first small European settlement was established in 1803; and in 1877 (only seventy-four years after this initial attempt at colonizing the island) the last surviving Tasmanian died. This record speaks for itself. When all possible allowances are made, the picture is not a pleasing one!

One may well ask what primitive native populations have actually been the gainers by their contact with civilization. Have, for instance, the native Australians secured a fair equivalent for the freedom they have lost? Are the natives of the Melanesian and Polynesian island groups better off as a whole for White administration? Did the South-African Bushmen benefit as a race from the advent of Europeans? Or, are the once roving North American Indians really improved by being confined in "reservations"? With few local exceptions it is difficult to justify an answer in the affirmative. Dwindling populations, and, in the case of the Bushmen, virtual extinction, deteriorating physique, restlessness and apathy are some of the all too noticeable effects; and these have to be accounted for.

Even where there has been every desire to deal equitably and discreetly with the natives, glaring injustices have unwittingly been perpetrated through ignorance of their habits, beliefs, and psychology. These, however, are matters of past history, valuable chiefly as object-lessons and warnings. It is with the future that we are mainly concerned.

I have recently spent three months among the Nagas of the Naga Hills, Assam; an expedition which incidentally has, I fear, involved my neglecting my presidential duties during the second half of last year. During those three months I made a tour of several hundreds of miles through the jungle-clad hills, trekking from one native village to another and visiting the various Naga tribes in company

with my friends Mr. J. H. Hutton and Mr. J. P. Mills, to whom I owe and offer my most sincere thanks.

While I was chiefly engaged in studying the present and past condition of these natives, mainly in regard to their culture and their environment, the problem of their future was constantly in my mind. What destiny awaits them?

Already a very large area within the Naga Hills has come under the control and administration of the Government of Assam, and this area is being gradually extended. It is possible that in the comparatively near future the whole of the Naga tribes may be organized under similar conditions. The imposition of systematic government upon hitherto independent natives involves changes of a drastic and far-reaching nature. The problem which has to be faced and solved is involved in the questions (1) what changes are essential? and (2) in what manner can they best be effected?

We must always bear in mind that tampering with long-established and deeply-rooted customs is apt to be dangerous, and although the ideal aimed at may be perfectly sound from our point of view, the metamorphic results arrived at may prove disappointing and very different to those which theory leads us to expect. Are we not too apt to interpret the workings of the primitive mind as though they differed from those of our own minds merely in degree, and to forget that, to a very great extent, the primitive outlook is fundamentally different from ours? Is it possible, from such *data* as we are able or likely to obtain, fully to comprehend the mental processes of "savages"? I think not, but it behoves us to try our utmost to do so.

Many of those civilized persons who have lived long among and in close contact with primitive peoples have frankly admitted that the longer their experience the more do they realize the impossibility of fathoming completely their mentality. Such admissions are honest, though they may be disappointing. But we owe our thanks to these

candid observers, inasmuch as they have in reality gained valuable knowledge, through results which are largely negative. They have discovered for themselves the important fact that innumerable pitfalls lie in the path of the conscientious student and administrator of native affairs ; pitfalls which are difficult to avoid since their very nature and construction are imperfectly understood. The recognition of the existence of these obstacles is in itself a step forward, as it serves to warn those who become responsible for the well-being of subject native peoples how very cautiously they should approach their task. The due appreciation of the great difficulties to be overcome by those who would explore " the back of the Black Man's mind " should encourage wary treading on the part of those seeking honestly to penetrate the mysteries of savage mentality, and should militate against too hasty interpretations of the intricacies of primitive culture phenomena.

Tampering with or suppressing certain special practices and observances, which our enlightened state causes us to view with contempt or abhorrence, may frequently lead to serious consequences. Many such, to us, undesirable practices are closely involved in and an integral part of the main social structure of the people, and the sudden compulsory abolition of some unpleasing though old-established item, may easily create a disturbance in the general social organization, and may undermine the foundations upon which the tribal or group cohesions have been built up. Social systems have required long ages for their evolution, and have been arrived at under special environmental conditions.

In dealing with backward peoples it is absolutely necessary to consider carefully the environment (using the term in its widest sense) under which their culture-status has been reached. The inter-relationship and interdependence of the various important elements in that culture should

be ascertained *before* and not *after* governmental prohibitions are imposed and time-honoured practices are abolished.

A *gradual* process of change may lead to desirable results and to improvement of lowly-cultured peoples. Sudden and violent conversions are very unlikely to do so, since the primitive mind is too conservative and too ill-prepared to assimilate readily doctrines or habits which are entirely new to them and lack the sanction of local tradition. In endeavouring to promote culture-metamorphosis, if our conscientious aim is to raise the savage to a higher level, we should try to achieve our object by evolution, not by revolution.

To root up old-established indigenous trees and plant in their place alien substitutes to which the soil is unsuited is a useless and unproductive work; and equally futile and unprofitable is it to abolish ruthlessly old-established beliefs and practices and to endeavour to replace them with imported doctrines and customs, which have developed under totally different conditions, and which merely puzzle the natives without enlightening them.

The primitive mind is undoubtedly receptive of new suggestions up to a certain point and to a varying degree, but the savage cannot be expected to appreciate drastic innovations the evaluation of which is beyond his analytical powers.

A higher culture may be introduced to the backward races provided that the assimilative process is a gradual one spread over a prolonged period of time. Civilization is like arsenic—an admirable tonic if administered in small, successive doses, which can act cumulatively with beneficial results. But, as with arsenic, an *overdose* of civilization is likely to have disastrous effect. Being incapable of assimilation in large doses it usually induces a state, to put it mildly, of mental indigestion, which may easily lead to worse conditions.

It has been repeatedly pointed out by those having experience of native life-conditions, that the suppression of old-time customs, social systems, rituals, and the like has had the effect of rendering the natives listless and apathetic, and has caused a general lack of interest in the communal welfare and, indeed, in life. As Dr. Rivers has clearly shown, such a state of induced inertia is the beginning of the end. Diminishing mental vigour leads to physical enfeeblement, and a dwindling population in danger of becoming extinct is the result. A disheartened savage who feels that the odds are heavily against him may, however healthy he may be physically, die in a few days. The statistics from Melanesia bring home to us these facts all too clearly. Depopulation is the surest indication of flaws in the administrative machinery.

The wide-spread practice of head-hunting might be assumed to act deleteriously upon population, and locally, doubtless, its effect is such, particularly where the raids are not reciprocal, but are repeatedly conducted by a stronger aggressive people against a relatively defenceless one incapable of retaliation. This seems to have been the case on the Melanesian islands of Ysabel, Russell Island and Guadalcanar (the western end), whose populations suffered constant raids from New Georgia. It is somewhat different where head-hunting is reciprocal and a kind of vendetta system, involving a head for a head, persists. Mortality is unquestionably higher than it would have been had the practice never existed. But is not this artificially augmented death-rate more than counter-balanced by a higher birth-rate due to the vigour, alertness and the greater physical and mental fitness which the exigencies arising from such a custom stimulate? The Melanesian evidence bears out this view.

I hold no brief for head-hunting, whether reciprocal or one-sided. Obviously, no civilized government can tolerate its persistence. I merely take this habit, as others have



done, as a typical instance of a practice whose associated ritual is deeply-rooted in the social structure of many primitive peoples. So completely involved is it in the general culture-complex of some native tribes, that its sudden eradication is liable seriously to affect the organization, cohesion, general outlook and the interest in life and, indirectly, even the physical efficiency of the natives.

The Nagas, to whom I referred just now, have been head-hunters by long tradition and their interests have very largely been centred upon this pursuit, which has been a means not only of acquiring desirable trophies, but also of proving manhood and prowess, incidentally affecting their chances of matrimony and their social status in the community. The indigenous culture of the Naga Hills is undergoing inevitable changes under the influence of a stable government. At the present day the region may be studied in culture-zones. The eastern districts are mainly outside the "administered" area and are largely unsurveyed. Here the Nagas are uncontrolled and their old-time culture and pursuits continue to persist practically unchecked. The western area is under government control, and I may say that the administration is, on the whole, admirably carried out. The chief mechanism whereby the civil authority is maintained and rendered effective is a couple of Englishmen, resident in the Hills, a considerable distance apart. The fact that they are able to keep in control the many thousands of natives placed under their charge is a high testimony to the effectiveness of the British Raj and reflects great credit upon the officials themselves. The secret of their influence over the Nagas is, I think, to be traced primarily to the sympathy which they exhibit towards their *protégés*, and to the keen interest which they take in the indigenous culture. This interest has led them to study the native customs, beliefs and general culture-phenomena in a more or less intensive and exhaustive

manner.<sup>1</sup> Thereby they have acquired that intimate knowledge which alone can render administration effective, and have admirably fitted themselves to act as local representatives of the central Government.

I referred just now to culture-zones in the Naga Hills. May I revert to this point for a moment? Along the eastern border of the administered area, which "marches with" the uncontrolled districts beyond the political boundary, the Nagas are still very largely unaffected by influence from the outside, and remain to this day primitive pagans, retaining the greater part of their traditional observances and preserving their characteristic mode of life. Head-hunting is by no means extinct in this area, though its rigorous repression is rapidly leading towards its complete suppression.

As one travels westward towards the Plains of Assam one becomes aware of increasing evidence of influence from the outside. The infiltration of elements from the Plains culture and the activities of missionaries have wrought changes which cannot fail to be noticed. The villages in the foot-hills, which lie between the main ranges and the Plains, naturally exhibit the effects of culture-contact most markedly, and the nearer one approaches these, the more one is liable to detect points of differentiation between their inhabitants and those of the eastern villages. My own experience of the Hills is limited, and such impressions as I could gather in a three months' tour do not qualify me to express any definite opinion. But

<sup>1</sup> The volumes recently published under the auspices of the Government of Assam, dealing with the Angami, the Sema and the Lhota Nagas (the two first by Mr. J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., and the last by Mr. J. P. Mills), are excellent monographs full of information of inestimable value not only to the ethnologist but also to future administrators. The volumes in question are additions to a growing series of monographs relating to the ethnology of Assam and Manipur, and the fact that the issues of these important treatises receives Government sanction and support is extremely gratifying and reassuring.

in the villages of the foot-hills I certainly noted marked evidence of a comparative lack of that virility, alertness and zest which I had observed in the more easterly districts, and the partial atrophy of these qualities is certainly correlated with the loosening of the grip upon traditional customs and ritual. I firmly believe that the comparative inertness is mainly the outcome of change of habit consequent upon contact with alien peoples and alien cultures.

Evidence of any substantial benefit to the Nagas themselves from this hybridization of culture appeared to me to be singularly scanty. In fact, speaking generally, the relatively uncontaminated Nagas of the central and eastern districts appeared to my eyes to be in most respects superior to those whose culture has been considerably affected by infiltrations.

The results arising from culture-contact in the Naga Hills call for detailed and careful study, and a report upon this, prepared by really qualified observers, would be of great value. As a field for such enquiry the region in question is unrivalled, since culture-metamorphosis can be studied in various degrees of advancement and its effect upon the natives can be diagnosed, the "untouched" Nagas supplying a basis for comparison. Moreover, it is not too late to benefit by the experience gained. It may not be easy to rectify ill-effects already produced, though once these are recognized as deleterious their progress may be checked. Any undoubtedly good effects can be furthered and may furnish a guide to the kind of culture-changes which are definitely and permanently beneficial to the natives.

Since the indigenous culture of a very wide area remains but little altered, there is much virgin soil for cautious and experimental cultivation on scientific lines. By avoiding the mistakes of the past, and above all, by maintaining and stimulating the interest of the natives in themselves, we

may yet develop a fine, if primitive race, having considerable potentialities, into an efficient ethnic unit, enjoying a stable organization—a race equipped to play a useful part in the world and with an undeniable claim to a "right to exist." It may be possible to save this people from the fate which has befallen so many of the backward peoples in the South Pacific and elsewhere; and *it is worth while*.

Apart from any satisfaction and kudos which may be gained by rescuing a very interesting people from inclusion in the category of "dwindling populations" and "moribund races," there is a practical incentive to preserve and develop the Nagas. I may remind you that during the late war these natives played their part. No less than two thousand Nagas volunteered for service in labour corps in France, and underwent the overland and overseas journey of several thousand miles to do what they could to further a great cause. Few, if any of them had ever made a long journey before. Probably none had ever seen the sea and experienced its erratic moods. And yet the contingent suffered shipwreck in the Mediterranean and bore this novel experience with equanimity and *sang froid*.

Spirit and grit are not wanting, and to allow such a people to "go under" would be, from a moral standpoint, a crime, and, from a practical standpoint, a blunder.

Seeing that, in accordance with an inexorable rule of the World, the Nagas, like other primitive people, cannot be allowed to stagnate, but must either advance or disappear, it behoves us to take effective steps to prevent the latter and promote the former destiny.

It has been amply proved that sudden and drastic changes from the normal condition act deleteriously upon peoples of lowly culture, feeble receptivity and restricted powers of assimilation. Hence, a *gradual* process is called for. By careful study of native culture and mentality, it is possible to ascertain what are the more essential and vigorous growths which permeate and form the main

support of their social structure. To interfere abruptly with these is to court disaster and to risk inducing that dangerous state of apathetic listlessness which arises from loss of interest. But, while the cutting down of a vigorous and deeply-rooted stem causes the death of the plant and all that depends upon its vitality, judicious pruning may be quite feasible; and, moreover, it should be possible to graft branches of a different nature and quality upon it, and to repeat the process, until the whole nature of the growth has changed without loss of vitality. Cultivated roses gain in vigour for being budded upon the natural briar-stem, without losing their desirable qualities. So too, cultivated ideas are likely to flourish when grafted upon old-established indigenous stocks which have evolved in the particular environment. The native growth can thus be modified without being eradicated, and may be made to contribute more and more of its vigour to the grafts.

This implies that, if we aim at equitable administration of subject races, the chief essential is close investigation of their indigenous culture; and it is to be hoped that governments will in every way encourage the study of general anthropology and local ethnography, particularly among those who undertake the responsibilities of control and organization of alien and backward peoples.

At all stages during the process of conversion and elevation of primitive peoples it is desirable to offer to them a fair equivalent for what is taken away; to provide them with substitutes which will not alienate their interest, but possibly stimulate it, while tending gradually to divert their thoughts in a new direction leading them towards the desired goal. It is not enough, for example, to suggest to a savage with war-like instincts and traditions that honest work (usually for some one else's benefit) is an equitable exchange for prohibited head-hunting. He is unlikely to be convinced by so revolutionary a doctrine, at any rate until his mind has been gradually attuned to the idea that even work

can be an interesting and absorbing occupation. The thing which replaces what is abolished must offer an attraction such as will appeal to the native mind in the state in which it is at the time. For this, the substituted practice should not be too markedly antagonistic to the existing one. Even the most substantial and, to us, obvious improvements will not flourish in an atmosphere of unchanged convictions.

I have not attempted to cope with the very numerous and various issues which are connected with the general problem of the treatment of backward peoples. The ravages caused by introduced diseases, unaccustomed and often inferior imported foods, alcohol, opium, the traffic in labour, the alienation of their land from the natives by bogus "purchase," the imposition of European clothing upon natives who rarely suffered from pneumonia until they were clothed, and many other factors which have helped to bring about the downfall of subject native populations, are matters which call urgently for government intervention ; but with these we, as members of a Folk-lore Society, are not directly concerned. Keeping in view the principal aims of our Society, I have rather dwelt upon the cultural aspect ; but, in so doing, my main object has been to draw increased attention to one of the widest and gravest problems with which civilized nations, and with which we especially, as a great colonizing nation, are called upon to grapple.

It has been facetiously remarked that "the White-man is the Black-man's burden." It is our duty to prove the converse, and to admit that we assumed the Black-man as *our* burden when we first invaded his lands and persuaded him by various, and not always creditable means to accept our control. At the same time it behoves us to demonstrate that that "burden" can not only be borne, but also *uplifted*, provided that we employ suitable mechanism and logical methods.

HENRY BALFOUR.

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## MAGIC AND ITS POWER.

REV. CANON J. ROSCOE.

Few civilised people can imagine the dread that the very name of magic conjures up in the mind of primitive man. It is indeed almost incredible that people exist upon whose mind and even body an idea can have such power. Most of us have from childhood been used to the word as denoting something rather pleasant, something which will bring help in the hour of need and be powerful to assist the deserving, like the good fairies of old tales, who invariably appeared in the most delightful way just when the person was in sore need and at the end of his resources. To the native mind such a conception is entirely foreign and magic is something to be feared and dreaded. I have in this paper dealt with one corner of the great continent of Africa, where I have often seen magic spells at work and witnessed some of their effects.

Magic is a power which can only be exerted by certain persons surpassing their fellowmen in skill and shrewdness or in wickedness, and as a rule its influence is for evil. From the earliest times there have been persons who claimed, even when they had no means of open demonstration, to have this power, and there were various kinds of magic and various ways of setting it in motion and of conveying it to the place where the effect was desired. Most of the work had to be done in the quiet of the night and the secrecy of darkness. The malignant magic worker, that is, the man who wished to bring evil upon his own people, knew that discovery would lead to severe treatment

and probably to death, and hence his work was done by night when there was little danger of disturbance and discovery.

There were never more than a few persons who had the knowledge of how to work magic and as a rule those who were known were recognised magicians who made their living by their profession. They were generally regarded as men or women with extraordinary knowledge and had a monopoly of medical and surgical skill. There is little doubt that these people had for long had some knowledge of the effect of drugs and were acquainted with a variety of herbs and with the methods by which drugs could be extracted from them. Added to this knowledge, a great deal of mystery and superstition surrounded them and this they did their utmost to sustain in order to make the people believe that they had power which they did not possess. Their art was usually handed on from one person to another, if not from father to son then from a man to some person adopted by him as a son or to someone who made it worth his while to impart his secrets.

It was regarded as legitimate magic when power was used for the good of the people, when, for example, it was used to prevent an enemy from invading the country or to strengthen an army in an attack upon some hostile tribe and to bring victory to their arms. In cases of illness, magicians were sent for to discover the cause, and should they announce such cause to be magic it was their duty to produce some stronger and more powerful magic to oppose and overcome that which had been set to work. The king always employed the most powerful and skilful magicians to work for him against the hostile tribes in the neighbourhood.

The use of magic was, however, condemned when a man by it caused some person of his own tribe to fall sick or become mad or brought some calamity upon him. The wielder of such magic was hunted by members of the



tribe and, if caught, was put to death. Such people had therefore to work in secret and often carried on their nefarious work by night. Sometimes they were said to have gone out naked and used spells and charms, with incantations and magic songs, in or near the house of the person on whom they wished to cast their spell. They were said also to be able to cause flames to spread round and over them by merely clapping their hands while making the magic. These men and women when caught received no mercy at the hands of the public, but were killed at once in the most cruel manner their captors could devise. It is to be noticed that the workers of magic may be of either sex and, so far as I can discover, of any age, for even young people at times attempted to work spells. All such workers of magic were considered to place themselves outside the pale of law and mercy and were liable to the punishment of instant death.

From the workers let us now turn to the methods employed, some of which are interesting in the extreme. When dealing with legitimate methods we must first recognise that many of the so-called fetishes were merely receptacles containing magic made under the auspices of some god and that it was by their belief in these that their possessors became daring and were able to go through what they would otherwise have shunned as dangerous and difficult places or circumstances. The king was always in possession of the most powerful fetishes, that is, magic containers, and whenever any new magic was discovered or any new power became known, the king was at once informed and was given some of it. In this way his power was ever greater than that of his subjects and he also strove to keep ahead of any of the surrounding tribes. Some fetishes, which were more of the purely magical order than those devoted to gods, were composed of shells, gourds, horns or clay objects bound in skins of wild animals and other things of unusual appearance. The ingredients,

in which lay the real efficacy and the value of the object, were mixtures compounded by a maker who professed to know what would be the most potent drugs for any special object and to be skilled in preparing them. These were intended to be kept to ward off evils and to protect the owner.

The medicine-man or magician had also to be prepared to go at any time to the king or to any chief who called for his assistance. If the king called on him to prevent the incursion of some tribe, the man had to go and, as he expressed it, "stop the road" or prevent the enemy from entering the country. This might be done by taking some of his drugs, powdering them, and spreading them along the various roads by which the enemy was likely to come. Another method was to take a blind person, a blind cow or sheep, and a blind dog or a puppy with its eyes still closed. The victims might either be killed and cut up, the portions of the flesh being placed along the roads, or the man might break their limbs to prevent them from crawling away, and place them at points along the various roads. These methods bewildered the enemy and destroyed their sight and strength so that they could neither advance nor resist attack, while the king's forces, encouraged by the knowledge of the magic which was working for them, courageously attacked and drove them back. During any expedition the medicine-man was constantly at work making spells to confound and overcome the enemy who, in his turn, placed faith in the magic-making of his own medicine-men. Victory was thus considered to depend on the power of the medicine-man and on the strength of their spells.

In cases of sickness, the relatives of the patient went to the medicine-man for his assistance to heal the patient by magic. As a rule he simply gave them drugs, with instructions as to how to use them, but if he was well paid to do so, he would visit the case in person. One method of

freeing a person by magic was to rub herbs over the body from the head to the feet as though brushing away the disease, and either secreting these herbs in the road or throwing them in the grass by the road-side where some unsuspecting person might brush past or step over them, and so contract the disease. During the operation of brushing the patient, words were sung or chanted to cause the illness to come out and convey it to the herb brush. Another common method was to rub a fowl over the patient and take it to some road near ; a shallow hole was dug in the path, the fowl's head was cut off and, with the blood, put into the hole, after which the place was carefully covered and made to look like the rest of the path. The first person who stepped over the spot thereafter would contract the illness and the patient would recover. This work had to be done by night because it was criminal and, should the worker be caught, he would meet with serious consequences even if he escaped with his life.

The more dreaded magic was when a person had some ill-will against another and sought by magic to make him suffer or perhaps to kill him. Such deeds were wrought in great secrecy and the perpetrator used some object such as a bone from a fowl or of some wild animal over which incantations were made. The bone was either hidden in the thatch of the house or buried in the path or near the house. In a few days, such magic would be sure to take effect ; the person against whom it was directed would fall sick, and unless the magic could be discovered and destroyed, or its power overcome by stronger magic, he would die. Another method of influencing an enemy by magic was to obtain something that he had handled or worn, or that was part of himself : a bit of clothing, some grass that had been in his mouth, hair cuttings, nail parings, or even earth upon which he had left the print of his foot, would be sufficient. Any of these objects would be taken

and incantations made over them, with the result that the man soon fell ill and the relatives would consult some medicine-man who by divination or by augury told whether the illness was caused by magic and suggested the treatment.

In cases of this kind, the perpetrator had to be discovered and made to remove the spell; if his action had been caused by an unpaid debt or by some injury, he would have to be recompensed, and when the magic was removed, the patient could be treated with ordinary remedies. One remarkable fact is that during years of research I have never found any attempt made to injure others by administering actual poison in food or in drink. Every case was genuine magic-working, often with grave effect, upon the mind of the other. Sometimes magic was placed about openly, and the person against whom it was directed might see it and pass it without knowing himself to be the intended victim. After a few days, however, he felt unwell and then he realised that the magical objects he had seen were intended for him and that, the spell being at work, no time must be lost in removing it or overcoming it by stronger magic.

To the western mind such methods may seem childish and stupid, but we have to deal with minds steeped in the belief of magical power. There is scarcely a man who does not dread this subtle power, though he may have been in touch with civilisation and been taught that there is no connection between himself and a bone hidden in the roof of his house or something he has worn, or hair he has cut off. How he knows that he has been affected by such things as bones in the roof of the hut or a fowl's head and blood in his path is not easy to decide, but any pain or illness will suffice to arouse his suspicions. He may by some means become acquainted with the hidden objects or perhaps he merely fears magic, but in any case he sends for the medicine-man to tell him the reason for the pain

and if possible allay his fears that he is under a spell. Conscience has doubtless much to do with his fears, for if he remembers an injury done to someone or an unpaid debt, he will at once believe himself to be under a spell.

The augury to decide the cause of illness may be taken in various ways. Incantations might be made over a pot of water, after which powdered herbs were sprinkled on the water, or a number of short sticks an inch long dropped into it; according to the position assumed by the powder or the sticks, the medicine-man reads the augury. A more potent and reliable method was to take a fowl or some animal, goat, sheep, or ox, make it swallow a little of the saliva from the person concerned, and after washing the throat with water over which incantations had been pronounced, cut it to see how the blood flows. If it flows faster from one artery than the other it is a bad sign, but if it flows evenly, the augury is good. Next the medicine-man opens the animal, examines the lungs and intestines for markings, and tells his reading accordingly. He may decide to send another medicine-man to hunt out the hidden magic and then tell whether the sick man will recover. Unless the hidden magic is found within a few hours, the patient dies. It is most difficult to follow the workings of nervous fear upon the minds of these people, for by suggestion or imagination they fall ill and in a few hours die, when to all appearance there is nothing the matter with them. One or two instances will suffice to demonstrate how magic can work upon the imagination, sometimes with fatal effect.

Some years ago an incident happened to me personally which was the outcome of an imprudent prank. I was in the habit of occasionally making bread with baking powder, and some boys, seeing the baking powder, mistook it for English salt which they had tasted and liked. They begged a little and, being amused by the powder effervescing on their tongues, wished to play a joke upon another child.

They brought a little girl of some twelve years and asked for some of the powder, which they called salt. I saw it was to be a joke and entered into the spirit of it, professing that I could not spare any, until at length the child herself became quite anxious to taste it. When she was thus excited to a high pitch I told her to open her mouth wide and let me put a pinch on her tongue. As I put it well back in her mouth, it at once began to effervesce, causing her to look serious and puzzled and the little boys to dance and laugh in glee. Then, seeing her solemn expression, they said, "It is magic; you will die." The child fell down on the floor moaning, and I realised that the matter had become serious and must not go further. I protested that the stuff was harmless and took some myself to convince her; then I raised her up and tried to soothe her, but all was in vain, she went down again, moaning that she was dying. After some time spent in fruitless endeavours to soothe her, it became evident that some other remedy must be tried. I bethought me of my dispensary and said to her, "As that magic is causing you to feel so ill, I must give you some stronger magic which will soon restore you." I got a lump of loaf sugar and then supported the girl to the dispensary where I dropped a little essence of ginger on the sugar and put it into her mouth, telling her to eat it quickly. It took away her breath for a second, but when she had eaten it she began to smile. I assured her that the evil effect was gone and soon she was playing happily.

Years later, in another part of the country, three men were brought to me to have wounds dressed. They had been in a leopard hunt and the beast had jumped out upon them, clawing two of them badly and tearing their scalps nearly off; the third was not much hurt, only having a scratch on the neck. I attended to him last and after dressing his wound I said, "There is not much the matter with you; you will soon be well." To my surprise he said,

"I am dying." Thinking he had got an exaggerated idea of his wound, I talked to him for a few moments and dismissed them all, telling them to come again in the morning. Next morning two of the men came, but the third with the scratch on his neck was missing and when I asked for him I was told that he was dead. He had gone home and, saying that he had been killed by magic, died in a short time. So far as it was possible to discover, no complications had arisen, but he was convinced that the animal had been caused by magic to attack him and the power of his imagination had done the rest.

Another case in still another part of the country will show how wide-spread and common is this fear. A Sudanese soldier on Lake Albert was said to be choking with a bone in his throat. I heard the particulars from the Commissioner who said that there was no trace of anything in the throat, but the man had suddenly fallen down gasping for breath and saying he was dying from a bone in his throat. An examination was made and remedies used, but though there was nothing to be found, in a short time the man died. It transpired that the man was convinced he was under a spell worked by another soldier. After death no trace of anything in the throat could be found, so that the man had died from a firm conviction that magic had been worked against him. His relatives wished to kill the man who had been accused but this man strongly affirmed that he had done no magic-working and further that he had no ill-feeling towards the dead man. The ailment had been purely imaginary and the man had died of fear.

These are instances of the kind of thing which happens through the fear of magic in all parts of Africa, sometimes by suggestion, sometimes by imagination. Possibly as time goes on we shall be able to obtain psychological facts together with results of medical investigations which will enable us to deal more thoroughly with this

subject, but for the present let us turn to death ceremonies and the reasons for the methods of mourning practised.

This subject is far too big to attempt more than a brief outline of one or two tribes. I begin with the Baganda, for I have had more opportunity for observing their methods than in the cases of other tribes. When a man died, the head was shaved and the nails on hands and feet pared; the body was laid out with the legs straight and the hands crossed, and the eyes were closed. In the case of the king or an important chief, the body was washed before being laid out and the queen was in attendance on the king to see that certain beads were placed on his great toes, which were then tied together. The fact of the king's death was kept secret as long as possible, so that arrangements might be made for safeguarding the body and the enclosure. Royal police were sent to capture the chief who was responsible for a sacred fire at the entrance to the enclosure. This fire was never allowed to go out during the lifetime of the king, but when he died, the chief was brought and strangled over it and it was at once extinguished; the large drums were then sounded with a rhythm which told of the death. No person might say that the king was dead, but that the fire was extinguished. Throughout the country the wildest excitement and disorder prevailed when the drum sounded the news. The more powerful chiefs and the strongest of the peasants sought to plunder and rob the weaker. Cattle and property were hurriedly sent to places of safety or secreted, while the national dress for mourning, a girdle of withered plantain leaves, was generally adopted. It was the duty of the leading chief, with other important chiefs, to appoint another king as speedily as possible, and he sounded his drum to bring the state of anarchy to an end. The newly elected king had to go to the body of his predecessor, who was usually his father, and perform the ceremony of



covering the body with a special bark-cloth prepared and kept ready for the purpose.

A particular chief who ruled over the district of the tombs and was known as the king's father, was given charge of the body and took it away to embalm it. The process of embalming was a lengthy one, because the body had to be disembowelled and have all the juices squeezed from it, while it was sponged daily with beer and milk. The fluids from it, mixed with the beer and milk, had to be drunk by certain chiefs and widows who took part in the ceremony of embalming and who became the chief members of the new temple in which the ghost of the dead king was in future to reside. After six months of treatment, the body was ready for interment.

During the period of embalming, the widows who were left in the old royal enclosure mourned daily, and the new king, who resided in a temporary enclosure, also lived as a mourner. It was not until the body of his predecessor was placed in its tomb that he could begin to reign in his new capital, which was built during the time of mourning.

At the burial, which lasted some days, there were assembled hundreds of prisoners, a number of widows, and also a number of the important chiefs of the former king, all of whom went with full knowledge that they were going to their death. The tomb was a large hut in which a frame, not unlike a bedstead, was built; upon this the body was laid and offerings of bark-cloths and other things were packed in until the hut was full. The doorway was then closed by letting down a portion of the roof which had been built for this purpose. Round this tomb widows and chiefs were arranged standing with their backs to the hut. There they were struck down with clubs and killed outright as they fell, and their bodies were left to decay. A fence was built to enclose the tomb and their bodies and outside that a second fence was built. In the outer enclosure four or five hundred persons, either prisoners of war or others

captured on the roads for the purpose, were clubbed, speared, and in other ways done to death, the object being to send their spirits to accompany the king into the ghost world so that he should have a retinue and not appear there alone like a poor person. Cows, sheep, and goats were also killed in numbers so that they also might be with the king and many presents were given in the hope that they might be of use to the ghost.

The ghost of a king was not a common ghost, for his lower jaw bone and the stump of umbilical cord which had been preserved from his birth were taken to a temple which had to be built for their reception. These objects were decorated and preserved, that the spirit might take possession of them, and the king was deified.

Unlike the kings, the common people at death were not mummified, their heads were shaved and their nails pared, but the bodies were prepared for burial by being wrapped in new bark-cloth. Before a man was buried it was essential that his heir should come and be introduced to the mourners and friends, and go through a ceremony of taking up his inheritance. He took a few seeds from the hand of the dead man with his lips and, after chewing them, puffed them over the body at one of the widows to show that he chose her to go with him at once as his wife. The mourners and friends had next to take leave of the body. The face was exposed and near it were placed a pot of butter and a number of plantain sponges. Each mourner walked round the body and, in passing, rubbed a little butter with a finger on the forehead of the dead, gazed on the face and, wiping the finger on a sponge, went out of the hut. At the funeral, which took place, when possible, on the day of the death, the body was laid in the grave by the relatives, who had dug a pit some five feet deep and lined it with bark-cloth. A grandson stepped into the grave, cut a piece of the bark-cloth covering the head, and threw the knife to one of the widows, who became his.

Numbers of bark-cloths were thrown into the grave and upon these earth was piled into a mound over the grave, which was smoothed and beaten hard. Beer was poured at the head of the grave, a small shrine was built for offerings, and a few things were placed in it. The mourners scraped the earth from their feet and hands and from the hoes used at the burial, and the strings for tying the hoes to their handles were taken off and laid upon the grave. The hands and feet were washed by the grave and the water poured out there before the mourners who had taken part in the funeral ventured to leave for the place of mourning. As a rule the grave was not far from the place in which the person had died, but in all instances it was in a clan burial ground.

The mourning was conducted in the hut in which the person had died and it lasted from three or four days to six months according to the rank and wealth of the deceased. The time was determined by the heir, who told the mourners one day that the mourning would cease on the morrow. While mourning people were not permitted to wash, cut their hair, or pare their nails, and they had to eat vegetables cooked in their skins, as people did when on a journey, with meat provided for them by the heir from the estate, and drink beer. Each morning at sunrise and again each evening at sunset, the mourners had to wail and weep; if the grave was near they went to it and threw themselves upon it, calling to the dead to return. They performed this wailing in relays so that they were able to keep up a continuous wail for about an hour, after which it ceased for some twelve hours.

After the mourning ended, it was customary in this tribe to make offerings of clothing and beer to the ghost; the mound over the grave was kept in good repair and a small shrine was built at the head of it. After a number of years the ghost might be thought to be reborn, after which the grave was allowed to fall into disrepair and

finally to disappear. No further offerings were made, for the ghost was supposed to be again in the land of the living, reborn in the person of some child of the clan.

In one of the pastoral tribes, when the king died, the fact was kept secret until arrangements could be made for the protection of the capital and for waging the war which invariably followed, for the princes fought to gain the throne and the victorious prince became king.

During this time the body was guarded and prepared for burial; it was washed, and after the head had been shaved and the nails pared, the limbs were bent up into a squatting posture frequently adopted by these people. Milk from a special cow was poured into the mouth, and a cow-skin was prepared for wrapping round the body, which was kept in the hut where death had taken place until the new king could come, claim it, and take it to its place of burial. The grave was a large pit lined with bark-cloth and cow-skins, and in the middle of it was a bed of bark-cloths. When the body was laid on this bed, it was covered with a specially prepared bark-cloth, and two widows, who performed the duty by their own consent, first smoothed the covering over the body and then raising the sides of it, they lay down by the body, drawing the covering over themselves as if in bed; the grave was then filled with bark-cloths and the two women were suffocated under them. No earth was cast into this grave, which was filled up with offerings of bark-cloth and these were also heaped into a mound above the level of the floor and covered with a large bark-cloth. In another account the statement is made that a third woman sat holding the head of the king in her lap and was buried thus with the other two, but this story was not generally accepted.

Over the grave was a large hut which was regarded as a temple. A number of widows were appointed to take charge of it, to renew the grass carpet round the grave when necessary, and to keep the courtyard swept and free from

weeds. To this place the new king sent periodical offerings of cattle, and when he wished to consult the dead about state affairs, he sent offerings both of cattle and slaves. Each year there was an annual festival in this temple, when a man was chosen from a particular clan to represent the dead king, and was said to be animated by the spirit of the king. For seven days he reigned in state in the temple, dealing as he liked with the cattle and the property, and having the use of the dead king's widows. At the end of the time he was taken out of the temple and strangled. The offerings made at this temple were principally cattle, because the dead king required milk to drink.

Among the common people it was customary to shave the head and pare the nails of a dead man; milk was poured into his mouth and the cow from which the milk was taken was never used again to give milk to any member of the family, but was either killed or given to some herdsman of another clan. The body was wrapped in a new cow-skin and buried at dusk after the cows returned to the kraal from pasture. The grave was dug in the dung heap and not in the earth. The mourners might take part in throwing back the dung upon the body, but whether they helped or were only onlookers they might not wail during the time of the burying, though when it was over they wailed as they had done before.

No cows were milked that night and they stood lowing for their calves which were kept shut up until morning, and any fully grown bulls of the herd had their scrotums tied, which prevented them from mating with the cows, while the discomfort made them bellow. The bulls were killed later to provide meat for the mourners, who might not drink milk until they had completed the season of mourning and had been purified. Neither the mourners nor any of the family, even to the smallest child, were allowed to sleep in their huts on the first night after the death. They had to sit outside by the kraal gate and wail

all night, for to sleep was thought to be dangerous with the ghost hovering around; no doubt they feared lest their souls should wander in dreams with the ghost and not come back. The next day the special mourners went to some appointed place where they mourned, living apart from the rest of the family and friends until the time that they might be purified. They were not permitted to enter any house, nor might they drink anything but beer or water. Each day they were given a supply of beef and beer and vegetable food, which was placed at a distance for them to take, because they were sacred to the dead and might not come into contact with other people or hold communication with them until the mourning ended and they were purified. The heir settled the question of the length of the mourning by the amount of beef available from the animals which had to be killed. When these were done he settled a time for the mourners to be purified and ready to return to their ordinary lives. The mourners washed, shaved, and pared their nails at the beginning and again at the end of the mourning; they were given new clothing and were taken to an appointed place to meet and greet their relatives and friends who brought them milk to drink. When the mourning ended the king had to be informed of the death and mourners visited him with a present before they might go about freely again.

There was a special method of informing the king of the death; one or two men who were more fleet of foot than their fellows were chosen to drive a bull to the entrance of the king's enclosure in the early morning. They went secretly and when they reached a place near the gate they drove the animal at a run to the entrance and called the name of the dead man, saying "So and so has left you and gone to serve king Death." They then turned and fled with all speed, chased by some of the guard from the royal gate who would kill them if they caught them. The guard, however, dared not chase the men far, because

they had to go back to kill and eat the bull as quickly as possible. None of the flesh might be eaten after sunrise. While it was being killed and cooked some of the men dug a pit ready to bury any meat they could not eat before the sun appeared. The men hurriedly cut up and ate as much as they could, watching for the first streaks of sunlight, when they hastily shovelled the remains into the pit and covered them with earth. Had they tried to conceal any of the meat or gone on eating after the sun rose, they believed they themselves would die and some calamity would fall upon the country. After this ceremony the mourners visited the king with a present of a cow and a calf, after which they might resume their ordinary duties. The heir had still to perform, with his sister, the ceremony of clearing off all traces of death. His sister purified him and his cattle and goods, and he was then able to enter upon the estate of the dead man.

In Ankole, among the ordinary pastoral people, the purification was more rigidly carried out than in other places, for there, if possible, the dead man's own daughter came to perform the ceremony. She alone, or, should there be no daughter, some woman nearly related, could undertake the ceremony and purify the heir. The water had to be brought in the early morning from a well noted for its purity and the bearer had to be a boy whose parents were alive and well and who was himself a strong healthy lad. After purifying the heir and the cattle, this woman claimed a few cows which were then regarded as her own, though, should she be unmarried or have no son who might inherit the cows, she did not take them away. This is the only instance I know in this part of the country of a woman possessing property.

When any man of the pastoral tribe could not be buried in the dung-heap, the body might be buried in the earth, but, in that case, it was more often thrown out on some ground at a distance from the kraal. Even then the body

underwent a certain preparation, for the head was shaved, the nails pared, and the legs bent up under the chin. After the body was disposed of, a shrine was raised for the ghost, and when possible offerings were made to it. After the disposal of the body, whether by burial or by casting it out on waste land, it was no more considered, but the shrine to which the ghost went was important and there milk was offered twice daily and cattle might be dedicated to the ghost. Among all the people of the cow tribes more respect was paid to a man than to a woman, though the latter were in most instances buried and not thrown into the grass.

Among the dwellers on Mount Elgon there might be no burial, the body was laid out after death without any washing or shaving of the head and the relatives came to see it and to take their part in the mourning. After sunset, but before it was quite dark the body was carried out and deposited upon waste land in the vicinity and with darkness there came the sound of jackals which were said to have come for the body. Women and children were warned not to venture out, lest they should be attacked by these animals. As a matter of fact the noise came from men who were stationed at different places with gourd instruments which they blew, making a noise like jackals. When it was quite dark a number of elderly women went to the place where the body was and cut it up, carrying portions back into the house of mourning and leaving what they did not want for wild animals. They prepared the meat and cooked it as meals for the mourners during the two or three days of mourning for the dead which followed. No part, not even a bone might go out of the house again, but what could not be eaten had to be destroyed by fire. Only persons who were nearly related to the dead were called upon to take part in this feast and each morning and evening they wailed and called upon the dead to return. To neglect this ceremony was said to be disrespectful and



even injurious to the welfare of the ghost, who was detained in the neighbourhood and could not go to the realms of the dead until the body had been eaten. To allow the body to be buried and decay was to bind the ghost to the spot for ever and restrict it to this world. Such an offence roused the anger of the ghost and it retaliated by causing sickness in the family, especially among the children. When the mourning ended the relatives went on living in the same place and occupied the same house. A large stone was placed near the door under the eaves of the house as the ghost's abode, and by this food was placed for it. The relatives when the mourning ended were purified by shaving their heads, paring their nails, and washing at some stream nearby.

By all these instances we see that ghosts are the chief object of fear and reverence among the living. All they do at the time of death and afterwards is not done from love or even respect but in order to avert possible evil. The ghost is supposed to be an unseen spectator of what goes on and it is believed that what is done either at the funeral or later at the shrine materially affects its welfare in the other world. The living are able to add to or detract from the joy and wealth of the ghost. It is nowhere thought that the things offered at the time of the burial really go to the ghost, but the essence or spirit of them goes, and in the ghost world the honour of the ghost is affected by the things done and given to it by the living. For this reason weapons and pots are broken at the grave, which releases the spirit of them to go to the ghost. The ceremonies of the mourning and the offerings enable the other ghosts to see what a highly esteemed ghost has come among them.

The ghost is believed to have power to affect the material affairs in this world, and its friends therefore try to keep its favour and thus obtain through it blessing in life. With this in mind, the man who receives honour, promotion, or wealth attributes it to the ghost of some relative and

accordingly will make an offering of a sheep or a goat or, if he is wealthy, of a cow, and, calling together his relatives, he will eat with them a sacred meal at the shrine in communion with the ghost and thank it for the benefits he has received. Among the more strict sects of the pastoral people cows are dedicated to the ghosts and offerings of milk are made at the shrine each morning and evening. The milk stands before the shrine for a time and then the man drinks it with his children as a sacred meal. By these acts the man believes he is keeping the ghost in a favourable mood and by its power and aid he increases his herds; prosperity also comes to him and he is preserved from sickness and danger.

We find that even in places where there is little worship of any gods, there is always a strong belief in the power of ghosts and these are ever remembered and honoured. These ghosts do not in all places entirely supersede the gods, but they are invariably the working religious power of the people. It is to them that the members of a family will turn in trouble or illness when they wish to know whether the power at work is magic or some hostile ghost. In the latter case, the ghost may be asked to work for the sufferer; an offering may be made to it, and often a drink offering will be poured out by the shrine with the words, "Let him who is strongest overcome," the desire being that the ghost appealed to will prove the stronger and drive away the hostile power.

Among some of the Nilotic tribes the religious beliefs are most difficult to investigate and most bewildering, but there will always be found a strong working belief in ghosts, which is specially evident at funeral ceremonies, when the relatives have to restrain the widows who try to commit suicide in order to accompany their dead husband to the place of the ghosts, rather than face the world as despised widows with no certain means of subsistence.

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## RUMANIAN POPULAR LEGENDS OF THE LADY MARY.

DR. M. GASTER.

THE Lives of Saints with their innumerable legends and miracles form an inexhaustible source for the student of folk-lore. Scarcely a dip has been taken into this ocean, which is not limited to the Saints and Holy men of the Christian Churches alone, but extends far into India and China and covers also a large field of Jewish and Arabic hagiology. Everywhere men have been singled out for their exceptional character, their fortitude in trial, their piety and meekness, their striving after higher things and the sacrifices which they had brought to achieve their ideal purposes. Simple biography has never satisfied the popular mind; such exceptional men or women must also be distinguished by unequalled exertions and must have achieved results far transcending those of any other mortal. The miraculous and the wonderful have been a regular accompaniment to their achievements, and it is here that popular imagination has unfailingly set in in its desire to extol the character and the virtues of the men and women so venerated. Nobody else could do what they did, for no one else was endowed with those supernatural powers which were their own.

If folk-lore means, in the long run, to become the study of ethno-psychology, it is here that the lever must be put in, for nowhere can we discern with such clarity the action and re-action of the popular mind. We see how a myth is slowly evolved, how a simple fact is transformed into an

extraordinary occurrence, and how from small beginnings a whole literature grows up. Upon a slender base a huge building is erected; true, it may consist only of the gossamer of the mind, but that is just the charm and interest of folk-lore. There is also the other aspect. Such legends, thus developed, are written down: they become part of the literature of the believers, who are made acquainted with it year in, year out, on special important occasions; the life of the saint is recited by the ordained priest to a devout assembly, to whom these words are part of the sacred tradition and must therefore of necessity have a deep influence. The problem which arises is, what kind of influence is it which these legends and wonderful tales exercise upon the popular mind, and how does the latter react upon the former? Is, thereby, a new oral literature created which blends the old with the new, differing from the former and yet agreeing with it, by assimilating one portion from one set and another from another set of written or oral traditions, and thus producing a new legend or a new tale? Of no less importance is the fact that the people recognise and did recognise in olden times their old gods in the new saints. It was often a mere change of name and nothing else, and that which was already the property of the people, referring to one or another of the pagan gods, was bodily transferred to the new saint. Which of these is old and which of these is new, and where did the old traditions come from, which have now been assimilated in the new Christian doctrine? These are eminently problems for the student of folk-lore, but hitherto to my knowledge, comparatively little use has been made of that immense store which is found in the *Lives of Saints*. It is not an easy matter to dive into the immense collection of the Bollandists whose work after a century is still far from being completed, but it is sufficient to read the smaller collection of Metaphrast, or those embodied in the *Golden Legend of Jacobus a Voragine*, to realise the later form which

the *Lives of the Saints* assume in the course of time. We will find in all these many a detail which we recognise in the fairy tales, and even in some of the ballads we can see traces of ancient legends connected with one saint or another and vice versa. Many of the incidents told in the *Jatakas* are found in various lives of saints, such as the story of Eustachius Placida, his wonderful adventures and his family tragedy. This latter has been shown by me to be identical with another set of legends, known as the story of Faustus and Faustina in the *Clementine Homilies*, and these latter again to be closely connected with a whole cycle of Buddhist tales known as the *Jatakas of Buddha*.<sup>1</sup> The same holds good of the story of St. Alexis,<sup>2</sup> the Man of God, and one has only to open the books on the history of the literature of the Middle Ages to realise the immense popularity which these very tales enjoyed. If we, then, find parallels in secular literature, the question remains, which is the older and which one has been developed from the former? As already remarked, much of our fairy tale material could easily be matched with similar incidents in the *Lives of the Saints*. One has only to remember the stories of St. George and the Dragon, and those of Cosmus and Damianos, the counterpart of the Dioscuri, the one being Christian, the other Greek. And likewise one could go through a very long list of parallel stories found among the living folk-lore in the mouths of the people and those that have been reduced to writing at one time or another. It seems that literary movements spread like the waves of an ocean, one wave after another covering the whole of the surface. The same kind of literature passes from nation to nation and a kind of uniformity is established in the mental attitude of the masses; they all read, let me say, legends and tales of Biblical origin, connected with the

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1894, p. 335 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Revista pentru Istoria filologiei și arheologiei*, ed. Todilescu, Buanexzi, 1894, pp. 335-352.

history of the saints. Another wave succeeds like that of epic poetry; the great romances of a purely secular character take the field, the religious element is not entirely barred, but its influence has practically disappeared. It is not here the place to discuss the origin of these epic romances which start from the time of the Crusades, but they seem to have received their first impetus from the east; one has only to remember the Persian *Shahnameh* of Firdusi, or the Arabic epic romance of Antar, or the later Byzantine epic of Digenis Akritas, probably also of eastern origin, to see that such epic poems flourished in the East long before their appearance in the West. This does not mean that short poems in honour of gods and heroes may not have existed in the northern countries of Europe; but I am speaking of those great cycles of romances which took possession of the fancy of the inhabitants of Europe and flourished for some centuries. A third wave, also starting from the East, is that of the Apologues and short stories, which took the place of the epic romance and became the most popular literature, almost submerging, as it were, everything that had preceded it. The *Decameron* of Boccaccio alone is the most eloquent expression of this new literary wave. Thus a multitude of impressions has been carried to and fro, from land to land, and from nation to nation, always strong enough to leave traces and occasionally even to mould the popular imagination. By a careful investigation, one may thus perhaps be able to establish a kind of chronology of the mental development of the nations, and so group them according to the possession or absence of any of these three phases of literary evolution; and by measuring the influence which one or the other or all of them have been able to exercise upon that mental and poetic evolution, we may also be able to ascertain more easily the elements which have contributed to enrich the popular imagination.

In Rumania we are, so far, still under the influence of the

first phase with a slight addition of the third; curiously enough, no traces of epic literature in the full sense of the word have yet been discovered. There are, however, a few ballads and a large amount of magic literature which greatly counterbalance the absence of the epic and are of far higher importance to the student of folk-lore, since all these carry us back to a higher antiquity than we are able to trace in the literature of the west.

But myth-making has never spared any personality; it did not stop at saints and holy men, hermits lost in the desert of contemplation, or women of the world who had renounced everything and put on the robe of begging women. Even the highest became the object of myth and legend. Buddha and Muhammad have become the centres, and in the Christian Church the literature which has gathered round the founder, his mother and the other members of the family, goes back almost to the very beginnings of Christianity.

But the legends here considered do not, in the slightest degree, touch the canonical writings. They belong to that vast literature known as apocryphal, whose authenticity and validity, from a dogmatic point of view, has been systematically rejected by the ruling Church. They belong to the popular literature which has grown up round the canonical writings, and form in themselves a not unimportant element in the study of popular psychology. One of the driving forces is religious fervour, or rather poetical conception which draws its strength and inspiration from deep seated faith. It is the same imaginative power which, if brought to bear upon popular matter, contributes largely to the production of legendary lore. If the hero be a king or a knight or some other man in the general walk of life, not in any way connected with religious problems, the same popular imagery clusters round him, and legends are created which run parallel to the religious legends; nay in not a few cases, traits are borrowed from

one with which the other is invested. I take merely as one example, the famous history of Alexander the Great. It is curious to observe how round a small historic core there has grown up a vast literature, an almost endless sea which is not easy to traverse, the shores of which are receding farther and farther and into which so many rivers have flown, mingling their waters, raising the level and overflowing the banks. The very same process has taken place, and to a far greater extent, round the religious heroes, the personalities either of Biblical tradition or as already remarked, of other traditions farther east among the pagan world.

Limiting myself to the stories before us, the simple Gospel narrative was only the starting point, out of which there has grown the immense literature that represents the activity of the popular mind and popular imagery. For, in addition to the Gospels accepted by the Church, a large number of spurious Gospels have been written full of wonderful stories, legends and tales, dealing with all the incidents in the life of Jesus from before his birth until after the resurrection. True, the Church rejected them as spurious, but in spite of its anathema they remained the most widely read books throughout the Ages.

The very popular character of the apocryphal literature made it from the beginning a welcome and successful vehicle for religious propaganda, especially when it differed from the authoritative teaching of the ruling Church. Most of the ancient sects made ample use of this literature to convey their teaching among the masses in a subtle yet popular form. It was an astute way of propaganda and it proved most efficacious; hence the rigorous persecution of such schismatic literature on the one hand and the very tenacious propagation of it on the other. There is now a peculiar phenomenon to which sufficient attention does not seem to have been drawn. I am referring to the curious fact that this very apocryphal literature was



the first to be introduced to the whole of Christendom. Whilst the canonical literature remained, to a large extent, the property of the clergy, the apocryphal literature, especially that which dealt with the principal personages of the New Testament, found favour among the masses and was eagerly taken up and translated into the vernacular; hence also its greater popularity and the decisive influence which it exercised upon the imagination, art and poetry of the Middle Ages. Paintings, sculpture, and poetry all owe part of their inspiration to these tales. Who can fathom the influence upon the popular imagination exercised by the Apocalypses describing the journey through Hell? One has only to mention the *Divina Commedia* of Dante and St. Patrick's *Purgatory* on the one hand and the *Grail Story* on the other, all of which are more or less directly connected with apocalyptic literature. It was an easy matter to reconstruct an apocryphal life of Jesus out of that immense mass of spurious stories which had gathered round his name. Hoffmann (*Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen*, Leipzig, 1851) and recently Bauer (*Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neuteamentlichen Apokryphen*, Tübingen, 1909), as well as Pick in America, have been able to compile elaborate works from this apocryphal material, but none of these have, so far as I can see, ever raised the question as it presents itself to us from the purely folk-lore point of view. I have, therefore, selected for the present investigation a certain number of popular legends and tales, both written and oral, connected with the life and activity of Mary. The few incidents mentioned in the New Testament are in every case the starting point, but for many of the stories themselves it would be very difficult to find any trace in the canonical writings. Dähnhardt, in the second volume of his *Natursagen*, has collected a number of tales and legends referring to Mary, to Jesus and to the Apostles, but he also has not endeavoured to establish any connection between the various traditions, their

possible filiation and the influence which the one has exercised upon the other. Here I shall limit myself exclusively to the material offered by the Rumanian literature. Were I to venture outside this self-imposed limitation, I might perhaps know the place of departure, but I doubt whether I would know to what shore the frail canoe might be driven by the currents of myths and legends.

The very kernel of the problem is to ascertain, if possible, in the first place the sources of this new development, and then to follow up the history of these apocryphal tales in the mouths of the people. It is intended to show that there was no gap between the written and the oral, and that this constant education of the masses by virtue of the written literature has been going on apace for centuries. The people did not remain impervious to the teaching thus conveyed to them, but in their turn they spun the thread further and developed these legends and tales in their own way, so that a process of constant assimilation between the one and the other was going on, since greater freedom was allowed to the people in dealing with apocryphal literature. Sometimes the Church itself did not disdain to make use of that apocryphal literature by giving it canonical sanction, as in the lives of spurious saints, like Barlaam and Josaphat and others of a similar doubtful origin.

It comes ultimately to this, that the fairy tale and the legend of a saint may only be the twin aspects of one and the same story, differing in the setting but not in the motives; even the difference of appealing to faith disappears, for the people believe in both. The one may, perhaps, be believed in slightly more than the other, but anyone who knows these popular tales and the attitude of the popular mind towards them will sometimes fail to recognise that difference; they are both treated with the same familiarity, and no more respect is shown to the one than to the other. Take for example, the very legends

concerning Mary. There are some among them in which the Virgin is shown as a bad-tempered, evil-tongued, nasty woman and she is treated with less respect than that shown to the heroine of a fairy tale. On the other hand, she is looked upon as the only help in need and the only power capable of protection in conjurations and charms. Of course, we have here the same admixture of various elements which is so characteristic of all works of a popular nature. The mind of the people is often contradictory and nothing would be more contrary to fact than to expect system and logic in popular tales, except of a very primitive character. This will be seen from a few examples I will adduce from the extra-canonical writings and its later developments as popular literature.

It must be understood that I neither undertake to investigate here the origin of the apocryphal books of the New Testament themselves, nor even to deal with more than a few of the legends which have clustered round the name of Mary. It is only by way of a few examples that I am endeavouring to show the relation between what is known as the written literature or *Book-lore* as I would call it, and the way in which these traditions and tales have been received and assimilated by the people, *Folk-lore*, the influence which they have exercised upon the popular imagination, and the way in which Biblical legends have become amulets or charms. The peculiar use to which some of these have been put is very significant and opens up a way of research into the history and origin of charms and conjurations with which I have dealt on another occasion and which forms the subject of a more complete work in preparation for publication.

We begin with the story of Joachim and Anna, and we take as our starting point one of the old Apocrypha, which none the less may claim to have a canonical character inasmuch as it is found in the official *Mineia*, or rather the *Lives of Saints*, published in Rumanian in 1809 in Neamtz

and reprinted with slight modifications in Bucharest in 1827. The feast of Joachim and Anna is kept by the Orthodox Church on the 9th September, and the history of these two saints is found contained in the volume dedicated to the saints of that month. It runs briefly as follows:

Joachim and Anna were very good and pious people; they used to go up to the Temple and bring their offerings every year. They lived to a very old age but were childless. During the later years they noticed that the priest used to take the gift which they had brought from off the table and put it underneath. One day Joachim asked the priest why he did so and was told that God would not accept any offerings from them because they were childless; therefore, he took their gift from the table and put it underneath. Very grieved and troubled at this news, Joachim went home and told his wife what had happened, but added that they had been advised to offer up prayers constantly to God that perchance he might hearken to them. One day, Anna went into the garden and sat under a tree, when she noticed a nest in the branches with young birds in it. This increased her anguish still more and she wept very bitterly, when the angel Gabriel appeared and told her that a child would be granted to her who would fill the world with glory and renown. Her name was to be Maria. When Anna heard these news, she ran home and told Joachim of the vision which she had seen. The angel then appeared to Joachim as well and repeated the message. A year later a child was born, and when she was three years old they took Maria to the Temple and left her in the charge of the High Priest. A special cot was prepared for her and there she lived until she was fourteen years old.

Thus far more or less, the story in the official *Lives of Saints*. The Rumanian text goes back, probably to an old Slavonic "Prolog," which, in its turn, rests upon a Greek prototype. It must, however, have undergone some

changes at the hands of the various translators and copyists. The popular element begins to be introduced into each succeeding copy, since the copyist often considered himself free to deal with the text as he wished, to change, alter or amplify as suited his taste or as influenced by his knowledge.

Now this story has also entered into the popular lore of the people, and not a few variations have been collected from different parts of Rumania by the late S. Fl. Marian, from whose work, *Legendele Maicii Domnului* (Bucharest 1904) much of my legendary material is taken.

One of the popular forms:

Once upon a time there lived a couple called Joachim and Anna. They were good and pious people and very regular in their attendance at the church. Long before the verger reached the church in the morning, they were already there with their offering. They had been married for thirty-two years but had no children; the verger knew of this and one day he told the priest about them, but the priest said to Joachim and Anna that it was useless for them to bring any further gifts, as God would not accept them since they were barren. When Joachim and Anna heard these words they grew very angry and decided to separate from one another. So they left the house and journeyed some way together until they reached a forest. They entered this forest and went along until they came to a bridge where the road separated, one going to the right and the other going to the left. Here they halted and arranged that each one should take a different road and that they should meet again at the bridge a year hence. Joachim went his way which led him to some mountains. He climbed these and tarried there crying, weeping, and praying to God. His wife took the opposite road and, plunging deeper into the forest, came to a hut. This she found deserted, so she took up her abode in it and lived there. She wandered about in the forest every day and taking a book with her, went about reading the book and praying. One day, as

she was praying, she suddenly saw a leaf of a pear tree, dropping down gently from the sky and falling upon the open pages of the book. There was no pear tree anywhere near and the leaf was very beautiful. She wondered greatly at it and picked it up and smelled it (or according to another variation here given, kissed it both sides and put it in her bosom). No sooner had she done so, than she felt a change taking place, and soon she realised that God had heard her prayer and that a child had been granted to her. In her joy she would have run back to the appointed meeting-place, but she remained faithful to the promise not to be there before the year was over. When that time approached, she hurried to the bridge and found Joachim waiting for her impatiently. She told him what had happened but he was incredulous and said he wanted to see that leaf. She had left it (according to one of the variants) on the stump of the tree where she had been sitting when reading her prayers. Joachim went there and to his surprise he found the leaf still lying there. Now his joy was intense and they returned home together. They then vowed that the child, be it male or female, should be devoted to the church. In good time a girl was born whom they called Maria; their joy was so great that even if they could have touched the foot of God, it could not have been greater. When the girl was three years old, they fulfilled their vow and brought her to the Church, there to live forever.

The original story is in itself of a purely apocryphal character; there is no trace of it in the canonical writings and it owes its origin to the pious fancy of those who, in olden times already were anxious to discover something of the parentage of Mary.<sup>1</sup> As prototypes served them the story of Hannah, the mother of Samuel, who was also barren, who prayed to God and then vowed to give the

<sup>1</sup>Hoffmann, l.c., pp. 1-32, and the whole Patristic and mediæval literature.

child to His service, and also to some extent to the story of the birth of Samson. But these Biblical reminiscences have been practically ignored in the story which has been invented concerning Joachim and Anna. In the Rumanian popular version, every Biblical reminiscence has disappeared and the whole religious character of the narrative had been entirely forgotten. If by comparison we had not discovered it to be a further development of the old story, nobody could have guessed but that we have here a simple popular tale, full of those incidents which are so characteristic of fairy tales. Let us take the incidents one by one.

There is an old couple married for many years and anxious to have a child, so they pray to God intently that he may grant them one. This is the beginning of a large number of fairy tales and it is quite unnecessary to quote them here; it is a typical formula. As a rule it is a king and queen who are childless and who are anxious to consult all the soothsayers and magicians whom they try to propitiate with rich gifts, etc., but all advice proves fruitless. Their wish, however, is afterwards fulfilled in an unexpected manner. In the fairy tales the non-fulfilment perhaps causes them to lose a kingdom, and in the case of Joachim and Anna they have been practically cast out from the community. We are then told that they decide to separate and that they proceed together on the road until, after going through the forest, they come to a place from which they separate, each one taking a different route, but at the same time deciding to meet again at that very spot a year hence. As it stands, it is certainly a very curious way of obtaining children. Here we have the interesting motive which occurs in many romances and also in many tales. The knight, the venturesome prince or the man who is in search of some lost good, always plunge into the forest; two or three brothers who go on an adventurous quest separate at a certain spot, each one taking his own route, but all

determined to meet, as a rule, a year hence on the very same spot where they had separated. They would then discover who was still alive or by some token would learn the fate which had overtaken one or more. It is an exact parallel to the story of Joachim and Anna; they do not really separate but they both go out, as it were, on an adventurous quest, hoping thereby to obtain the object of their desires, and deciding to meet a year hence to find out whether the one or the other has been successful. The woman, then, comes to a solitary hut which had been inhabited by a hermit; in more than one fairy tale, the hero comes across the hermit, of whom he asks the way to the fairy queen or to some other place and is directed in such wise that he succeeds in his adventure. Here it is not quite clear whether or not the hermit had left the hut; very likely the story has assumed this form to preserve the miraculous character of the later adventure, for here it happens that she does obtain the wish of her heart by a wonderful leaf, which comes from nowhere, floating down from above and falling upon her book. She smells or kisses it and puts it in her bosom, and the long expected wish is fulfilled. The child will be born. This is in complete agreement with a large cycle of fairy tales, in which the smell of a flower has the same miraculous result. It is specially used in Rumanian fairy tales from every part of Rumania, and often like here, in connection with an old pair who are childless.<sup>1</sup>

After this unexpected fulfilment of the wish has taken place, the woman returns to the appointed place of meeting to find the husband waiting for her there; he has not achieved anything towards the fulfilment of his quest, he has not come across either a flower, an animal or a bird, which, according to some other fairy tales, he is expected to rear in lieu of a child under whatever shape it may

<sup>1</sup> Seneanu, *Basmele Române*, Bucharest 1895. Numerous parallels—pp. 250, 371, 585, 612, 658, 878.



appear as, for example, a little snake, a frog or a little sucking pig; these afterwards turn out to be the princes or princesses lying under a curse, from which they have been freed or will be freed. The final touch of the story is that the child which is to be born is dedicated to the service of the Temple or the Church from which the parents had been turned away. This dedication of the unborn child to the power which has directly or indirectly caused its miraculous birth is also a commonplace in fairy tales. In many cases it is a demon to whom the unborn child is promised as the result of the fulfilment of the wish which has been brought about by his help. Here, of course, it has retained the religious character befitting the occasion.

Taking it as a whole, we have in this legend a slightly disguised fairy tale. As for the last trait, no doubt the Biblical reminiscences mentioned before originally helped to shape it; nothing more appropriate than to identify this Anna with the Hannah of the Bible, praying for a child and devoting it to the service of the Temple; or again, the appearance of the angel to the mother of Samson with the same result. This may have been in the mind of the original writer of the apocryphal story, but it has evaporated under the influence of the popular mind, which turned it into the better known fairy tale and re-translated it into its present form, or perhaps recognised in it, under the changed form, the original fairy tale. This is precisely the problem to which attention is to be directed, and should be the subject of further investigation on the part of the student of folk-lore.

I pass now to the story of the Nativity. The version of the Gospels is sufficiently well known to require more than mere reference here. The version in Luke, ch. 2, has been the starting point of the apocryphal literature which has gathered round that incident.<sup>1</sup> There it is told that, owing to a decree of Caesar Augustus, all the people had

<sup>1</sup> Hoffmann, *l.c.* 97-116.

to enrol themselves in the census at the place of their birth, and that Joseph and Mary, who was great with child, came to Bethlehem, and unable to find shelter at an inn, went to another place which, according to different readings of the original text, is described as a manger or a stable. There the child was born and placed in the manger. Out of this brief account many histories have grown, and Rumanian popular fancy has also seized upon this event. It connects it with the name of the supposed owner of the stables, and tells what befell Mary in that place.

The people could not understand the Rumanian name for Christmas, which is called Crăciun, a word of Slavonic origin. It is of a very obscure etymology and has not hitherto been sufficiently explained from the purely Slavonic language. To the Rumanian it had no meaning whatsoever, and as he is accustomed to connect every incident with the name of a person,—abstract notions have no value for the popular mind—Crăciun, the name of the feast, became the name of a person. He is no one else than the owner of the stables. The people went further and invented also a wife for the Crăciun; her name was Crăciuneasă, and the story runs as follows:

This Crăciun had a beautiful house at the very end of the town of Bethlehem. On the day when Joseph and Mary came there, the rain poured down in torrents. Crăciun was absent, so they went to the house where they met the wife and asked her to be allowed to come in and take shelter from the rain. But Crăciun was a very wild man, wicked and cruel and also a great drunkard. The wife was frightened at taking them in, so they asked to be allowed only to stop under the veranda in front of the house. But the woman said, "You had better go to the stables and find shelter there." When they reached the stables, they found oxen and horses. Maria was seized with pains and she went and beseeched the woman to come and help, for Crăciuneasă had been a midwife. Her

husband, however, had forbidden her to act any more as a midwife under the threat of heavy penalty. When she saw, however, the state in which Mary was, she took pity on her and went to the stables, and when the child was born she put it in the manger. She put hay underneath the baby and covered it with hay.

The oxen just picked a little of the hay from the manger and then lay down to chew the cud, but Mary asked them not to make a noise as she was in pain, and also asked them to breathe gently over her and the baby to keep them both warm. The oxen obeyed. They kept very still and breathed very gently over them and helped to keep them warm. So she blessed the oxen and said, "May you always feel satisfied with your food, and always be content." And so it has remained. The horses, however, would not listen to her entreaties but went on stamping the ground with their hoofs and neighing all the time; nay, even worse; not satisfied with their own portion of the hay, they went and pulled it from over and under the baby. Then Mary cursed them and said, "Restless as you, restless shall you remain. And not satisfied with what is your own, food shall never satisfy you, except on one day in the year and then only for one hour on the Day of Ispas (Ascension)." And so it has remained. Meanwhile, Crăciun, who had made merry at the public house, came home half-drunk, and finding his wife cleansing herself, asked her what she had done and where she had been. The good woman told him that she had helped a poor wanderer who was even now lying ill in the stables. When Crăciun heard that she had disobeyed his orders, he became so angry that he took an axe and, pulling his wife to the threshold, put her hands on the threshold and chopped them off. Then he went to bed, drunk as he was. The poor woman, frantic with pain, ran to the stables and showed her stumps to Mary. When the latter saw them, she said to the woman, "Try and pick up your hands with

your stumps and come hither." Crăciuneasă did so and when she came with the two hands under her arms, she was told to touch the swaddling clothes of the baby with her stumps, and lo, the two hands grew on them at once; nay, they had become changed and were as if they had been made of gold. Full of joy the woman returned to her house. In the morning Crăciun awoke and seeing a pool of blood in the room, he asked his wife what had happened, for he had clean forgotten what he had done. She reminded him of his wicked deed the night before and showed him the beautiful hands which she had got instead. When the man heard and saw, he was greatly frightened, and running to the stables, he bent his knees in worship and begged of forgiveness. It was granted to him.

The journey to Bethlehem and what happened there has also become the object of a number of Christmas Carols. One of them will suffice here :

The Emperor decreed  
That people should go to their  
homes,  
And Joseph and Mary  
Started on their journey,  
Up hill and down dale,  
Through forests and gardens,  
And the Virgin Mary walked  
Along beaten tracks and fields  
bedewed.  
The pains of labour seized  
her,  
And she espied a tree  
Growing on the high road.  
Thither she went,  
There she laid herself down  
To rest from pain,  
But she found no rest.  
It was a tall poplar tree,  
Its branches were swaying,

The leaves were rustling  
And she found no rest.  
So she started up  
And cursed the tree  
And said :—  
" Cursed shalt thou be,  
Never quiet, never resting,  
Always shaking, always trem-  
bling, and the leaves rust-  
ling to and fro, whether  
beaten by the wind,  
Or in weather that is calm."  
And again she walked on  
Through fields bedewed,  
through beaten tracks,  
And she came and she reached  
The fold of the sheep,  
Where the shepherds gathered.  
There she laid herself down,  
Down to peace and rest,

Overcome with pain from labour.  
But the sheep were not quiet,  
They bleated and moved,  
And the little lambs skipped ;  
And again she rose up,  
Tired and weary,  
Angry and cross,  
And cursed the sheep,  
And said :—  
    " Ye shall have no peace,  
And when torn by wild beasts,  
You shall not be able to cry ;  
You shall not keep your wool,  
It shall be shorn off your back  
Year by year,  
And your little lambs shall die  
Under your breast."  
And so she rose up  
And came to Bethlehem.  
She knocked at the door of the rich,  
She knocked at the door of the poor,  
She begged and she entreated  
To let her find rest,  
Rest from her pain,  
Peace from her labour.  
But no one would receive her,  
No one would take her in,  
So she went to Crăciun,  
To the palace of Crăciun,  
And knocked at his door.  
She begged and entreated  
To grant her a little place,  
A place behind the oven.  
But he refused and said :—  
    " The waits are coming ;  
The boys with their carols ;  
They will make a noise,  
And you cannot find rest,  
So go to the stables,  
Where the horses feed,  
And find rest there."  
Thither she went,  
And there she found no rest.  
The horses were clanking the chains,  
They were kicking with their hoofs,  
The mares whipped her with their tails,  
And the foals stamped on the ground,  
And all of them neighed.  
So she cursed them,  
And said :—  
    " Cursed shall ye be  
Never to find rest,  
Rest or peace.  
Ye shall feed and never be satisfied,  
And always be kept on chains.  
And only once a year,  
A day of that year, an hour of the day,  
On the day of Ispas (Ascension)  
Shall you feel satisfied."  
So she fled away,  
Overcome by pain,  
And again she asked Crăciun  
To grant her a little place,  
A place behind the oven.  
But he replied and said :—  
    " Go to the stall of oxen,  
Where the oxen lie."

Thither she went,	Of all men.
And the manger full of hay,	Ye shall always be satisfied,
Fresh green hay.	And men shall take kindly to
She laid herself down	you.
To rest from her pain,	When the ploughman breaks
To find peace from her labour.	his fast,
And the oxen, kindly looking	Ye shall feed with him,
on,	And when he takes his meal
Breathed warmly over her,	at noontide,
And just nibbled the hay,	His meal and rest from his
And lay down to chew.	labour,
She bade them be still,	Ye shall also lie down
And quiet they remained.	And rest in peace and quiet.
And she blessed them, and	And when you walk along,
said :—	Your tread shall be soft."
" Blessed shall ye be	And so it has remained.

Thus far this carol, which contains all the incidents found scattered in one or the other, and all agreeing in ascribing to Mary that attitude towards the animals and plants which reaches back to more ancient times and to the older pagan mythology. This substitution of new figures for old, of saints for heathen gods, is a characteristic feature, but the question always remains how far the old has been retained and how far the people's mind, influenced by later elements, has preserved the old foundation for the new structure. Is it merely a change of name? If so, it is of special interest for the study of Folk-lore, in contradistinction to the study of Book-lore.

Most important, however, is the episode of the cut-off hands, which are joined again through Mary's intervention in a miraculous manner. This forms the central incident in a series of romances, legends and tales which can be traced back to the eleventh or twelfth century; in some of them Mary causes these hands to be joined again to the stumps of a virtuous and innocent girl. The immense literature which has grown up round this incident has been carefully collected by Bolte and Polivka in their *Annota-*

tions to Grimm, No. 31 (Vol. I. pp. 295-311).<sup>1</sup> They mention also the Greek version in the collection of Agapios of the *Miracles de Notre Dame*. This collection has been translated into Rumanian as well and has been widely read, as is shown by the numerous MSS. and prints.<sup>2</sup> But all the other details differ considerably from this Christmas Carol, which so far must be considered independently of that cycle of miracles.

In the Rumanian version of the Nativity, the ass, so conspicuous in the pictures of the Middle Ages which have drawn their inspiration from the apocryphal writings, has been replaced by the horse and in the blessings and curses of these two animals, we are carried at once into a mythological atmosphere. This belongs to the cycle of the relation between the gods and the animals. It is part of the conception that the origin of the peculiar characteristics of the animals is the result either of a blessing or a curse from the Divine power, with which that animal has been brought into either friendly or unfriendly contact. It is either a reward for kindness or punishment for unkindness. In an inverse form, we find stories of grateful animals, even trees and fountains, rewarding the kindness of the heroes, who in times of stress or trouble have come to their rescue or have shown sympathy with them. I shall have to refer a little later to the relation between Mary and other animals, all of which partake of the same character. There is no doubt that we have here a substitution of Mary for a more ancient divinity. No better example of this substitution of Mary for the old goddesses can be found than in the story of the Spider, of which Marian has published many variants (p. 98 ff). I will now give one of the most characteristic :—

<sup>1</sup> Senescu mentions Rumanian parallels, l.c. p. 691. A Macedonian parallel in Papahagi, P. Basme Aromane, Bucharest, 1905. p. 191, No. 168.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Literatura Populara Romana*, Bucharest 1883, pp. 430 ff.

Mary used to spin, weave and sew all the linen required for herself and her baby, and no one could spin such a fine linen as she did. One day she was sitting in her room, looking out of the window and spinning her thread, when the swallows came and looked on with friendly eyes. She was so much touched that she blessed the swallows, and it is, therefore, considered a great sin to kill a swallow. It became very hot, so she went out and sat down under a tree and in the shade of it started working again, turning her spindle very quickly and spinning a very fine thread. A spider happened to be sitting in one of the branches of the tree. When it saw her spinning it said to her :—

" I have heard that you can spin a very fine thread, but I am disappointed. That thread of yours is very coarse." " What," said Mary, " can anyone spin a finer thread ? " " O, yes," replied the spider proudly, " I can. If you don't believe, let us try." Greatly annoyed at his speech, she said, " Very well, let us try." And she started spinning a finer thread, but that of the spider was still thinner and he mocked at her. Again she tried and still the thread spun by the spider was much finer ; it was so fine, indeed, that it could scarcely be seen. Greatly annoyed at having been beaten by the spider, she cursed it and said, " Thou shalt now henceforth do nothing but spinning and making webs, and thou shalt feed only on those fools and simpletons who will get into your mesh, and whoever kills a spider with the back of his hand, seven sins shall be forgiven him." And so it has remained to this very day, for whosoever kills the spider with the back of his hand, has seven sins forgiven him.<sup>2</sup>

Another version says she used to make the shirts seamless, weaving them all out of one piece, and many popular beliefs connect weaving and spinning with Mary, who

<sup>2</sup>Two differing parallels are quoted by Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, Vol. II., 1909, p. 254 from Hungary and Poland.



seems to take a direct part both in the spinning wheel and the loom, the warp and the woof, and the whirring spindle. Anyone acquainted with the story of Arachne, as told by Ovid in his *Metamorphosis* 6, will at once recognise as complete a parallel as could be found, between the ancient Lydian legend and the religious transformation found in the Rumanian story. Arachne, who represents the wonderful tapestry work of Lydia enters into competition with Pallas Athene, as to who could weave the most beautiful piece of tapestry. Arachne wins and, full of fury, Athene tears that beautiful piece of tapestry and condemns her to become a spider weaving all her life. The change is very small, and it is a remarkable fact that the old legend of Asia Minor, preserved in its Alexandrian form by Ovid, should become a well-known Rumanian popular tradition. The reason why the killing of a spider could absolve a man from seven sins, is connected with a legend of the Passion. Many of these stories, however, have a tendency of deriving elements from different sources and producing new combinations, precisely as is the case with fairy tales, which are often the result of the combination of the most diverse motives found in other tales.

There are other details of the manner in which Joseph and Mary found shelter in a cave or rather in stables, as, for example, the extraordinary light which streamed out of the stables and lit up the darkened house of Crăciun, and other incidents which I pass over, for which parallels can easily be found in the sacred and secular popular literature.

Soon afterwards, Herod the king ordered all the male babies to be killed, and Joseph and Mary with the babe fled to Egypt. A popular form of this tale is as follows :— On the way they met the wife of a robber. She carried in her arms two twin boys. When Mary saw her hurrying along with these two babies, she took pity on her and she took one of the babies and suckled it. He becomes after-

wards the believing robber on the Cross. Many a wonderful thing happened to them on that flight, and the apocryphal literature is full of stories of miraculous happenings, such as of the tree bending down to cover with its branches the family resting underneath, the animals coming and bending their knees in worship, and many other details, some of which have also been taken up by the people and embodied in the Christmas carols. One of the most popular versions is the story of the man who was sowing the seed when they passed along the road and they asked him the way to Egypt. He pointed it out to them and they went on, hotly pursued by the soldiers of Herod. When the latter reached the place where the good man was sowing his field, they asked him whether he had seen a family consisting of an old man, a young woman and a baby. He replied. "Yes, I have seen them and I have told them the way to Egypt." They then asked him when the family had passed and he replied, "While I was sowing the seed." When they turned round to look at the field, behold it was covered with ears of fully grown corn. This had happened within a few hours, but soldiers, thinking that the man referred to something which must have taken place months ago, turned back from their pursuit.

It is a curious fact that parallels to this legend are only found among the Western nations, notably France, Spain, Italy and Ireland, pointing to Catholic means of propagation. No parallel, however, has hitherto been found among the other nations except in Rumania. One can recognise in it one of the well-known labour tests of the fairy tales. The hero is expected to sow the corn, to cause it to grow, to reap it and to grind it into fine flour within the space of one night. Here it is sufficient for the purpose for the corn to grow within a short space of time. The flight to Egypt has also become the subject of Christmas carols of which the following is the most complete :—

When the fields became green,  
When the flowers bloomed,  
The Holy Mother started  
With her son  
And God's,  
And she went along  
And she journeyed  
Along muddy roads,  
Along roads uneven  
Which shook the bones.  
And she took the road  
Until she came  
To John the Holy.  
Holy John,  
Holy John.  
When he beheld them  
He got as red as fire,  
And he embraced them  
And he begged of them  
To stay with him,  
To partake of  
Honey from the hive,  
Fruits from the garden.  
The Holy Mother looked at  
him,  
And with her mouth she thus  
spake :—  
" John,  
Holy John !  
We have not started  
To take the road,  
To stop  
And to eat  
Honey from the hive,  
Fruits from the garden.  
But we have started  
And the road we have taken  
With the Holy Son,  
To save Him from evil,  
And from the enemies to pro-  
tect Him,  
For they have taken counsel  
This evening  
To kill Him.  
As soon as I heard it  
From the holy angel,  
I have come to thee  
That thou come and lead us  
In the night through the  
valleys  
And in daytime through the  
long roads,  
In the night during the dark  
As in the light of day,  
To see the Child saved.  
For I fear lest they find Him,  
For they will kill Him  
If they catch Him ;  
They will shoot Him (with a  
gun)  
Or pierce Him with arrows,  
With a silver arrow  
To kill Him more quickly."  
But John,  
Saint John,  
Spake  
And said :—  
" O, Holy Mother,  
All-pure,  
Do not fear too much,  
For I have heard the news  
That they have crucified thy  
Son.  
The angels wept,  
The stars dropped,  
The heavens split open,

The sun darkened,  
The moon turned to blood."  
" Oh John,  
St. John,  
They have not caught Him  
They have not crucified Him,  
etc."

" Mother, if that be so,  
Then let it be as thou wilt."

As they spoke they started.  
They went a long way  
Until they came to Egypt,  
In a dark night  
In a cool night,  
So cold it made the bones  
rattle.

John,  
St. John,  
Went about  
To find a home,  
To ask for a home.  
But wherever he asked,  
He could not find a shelter,  
He could not get one,  
Until the angel of the Lord  
came.

The angel came, the angel  
spoke

" Holy Mother,  
Take the Child,

And hide it  
Among the hemlock  
For the enemies will come ;  
They are sure to meet you,  
And they will ask you :—  
' Have you seen the Holy  
Mother ? '

And thou shalt reply :—  
' We have seen them going  
along,

But not in these parts,  
For here the land is swampy,  
And very unhealthy.'  
When they will hear that,  
They will continue their jour-  
ney,

They will travel through the  
world,  
And when they will come back,  
They will find no one left."

When the Holy Mother  
heard,  
She did as she was told.

She hid the Child,  
And when she met the enemies,  
She told them of other roads ;  
They followed her direction,  
They travelled through the  
world,

And died on the journey.

(*MARIAN*, p. 93-94.)

In this carol, we already find two elements mixed up ; it must be derived from two different legends, for otherwise its whole tenor remains unexplained. Still more so, when it is added that the recital of this carol or the one mentioned before in connection with the Nativity, acts as a charm. A young man is to recite either of these from Christmas

Eve to the 1st January three times a day, and then he will see his beloved in a dream. On the face of it, there is no apparent connection between these poems and dreaming. The explanation, however, is to be sought in another legend connected with the Passion. In the mind of the people, the troubles of the beginning are unconsciously bound up with the tragedy of the end, and both are blended together until they produce a peculiar anachronistic result. The story of the Passion and the appeal to St. John belong to the second category, whilst the miracle of hiding in the hemlock forms part of the first series of legends, and as we have seen, the relations between Mary and the various animals and persons are transferred from one occasion to another and *vice versa*.

There exists now a peculiar Rumanian legend known as the Dream of the Lady Mary. According to the Gospel account, Mary was not in Jerusalem during the whole period of the Passion. In this legend she is described as having had a miraculous dream, a premonitory vision of the events which were going to happen in Jerusalem, and she goes to St. John to tell him of her dream and to ask him to help her to unravel the mystery and to interpret that vision, for she had seen in it her Son's suffering, nay, the whole history of the Passion. Then Jesus appears and explains the reason why He submitted to it and why He allowed the tragedy to take place. Then follows in this apocryphal book the direction that whoever will carry this Dream of the Lady Mary with him, or will tell it to others, he will be saved from all evil, and at his death the angel of the Lord will appear and take his soul and carry it over to heaven, there to reside with all the just.

It is almost unnecessary to point out the importance which has been attached everywhere to prophetic dreams. In modern times, when the dream is looked upon as one of the origins of spiritualism or animism, or is considered to be of even still greater value from the psychological

point of view as advanced by Freud and his school, there is no necessity to emphasise the significance which this apocryphal dream has for the study of folk-lore. How deep its influence has been is shown by the fact that the largest number of Christmas carols rests upon the dream; it has received an intensive circulation and many an old mystical legend has been combined with it, and has been invested with the character of a charm or amulet as in the apocryphal writing; it protects him who repeats it or carries it with him in a written form, and undoes or destroys the evil of sorcery and witchcraft directed against his well-being.

We are dealing here with much more ancient elements than appear on the surface, and the very central figures of the ancient mysteries, the dying god and the great mother, become here also the central figures. The mother, wandering through the world in search of her son who has disappeared or who has fallen a prey to his enemies and been done to death, and whose death and resurrection carry with them revival and everlasting life, are found in the ancient Babylonian legends of Ishtar, in the Egyptian of Isis in search of the body of Osiris, furthermore in the Tammuz-Adonis Legend, and in those of Mithras.<sup>1</sup> In the Hebrew literature I have discovered as well a very old hymn describing Jochabed searching for Moses after his disappearance. She also asks in turn the land of Egypt, the Nile, the desert, Sinai and finally the Rock of the Waters of Strife whether they have seen her son, and they reply that they have not seen him since he performed the miracles. Then she goes about desolate in search of him. It is one of the oldest Aramaic hymns of uncertain date, but probably of the fourth or fifth century,<sup>2</sup> and may be called "The Complaint of Jochabed," just as the search of Mary in these Christmas carols may be called "The Complaint of Mary." Grafted on

<sup>1</sup> See Sir James Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> Zuntz, *Literaturgeschichte der Synagogalen Poesie*, Berlin, 1865, P. 74.

to the legend of Mary wandering in search of her Son, it has been preserved in the mouths of the people. Two examples culled from the rich collection of Marian, must suffice to show the way in which the popular mind has been able to work out the old theme under the influence of the book-lore; or again how the ancient myths may have created the written apocryphal story, which in its turn has become part of the folk-lore.

A big man  
Took a big axe.  
He went into the big forest,  
To cut a big tree,  
To build a big church.  
And he cut the big tree,  
And he made a big church,  
With nine doors (screens) and  
    nine altars,  
With nine windows towards  
    the holy sun (east).  
In the great window  
Sat the great St. Mary,  
In the little window  
Sat the little St. Mary,  
She searched the books,  
She looked on all sides,  
She searched all the books,  
She looked on all sides,  
To see her Son,  
The Lord of Heaven  
And of earth.  
But she did not see Him,  
But she saw  
St. John, St. John,  
The godfather  
Of God,  
And she asked him  
And she spake to him,

" John, St. John !  
Hast thou seen  
Or hast thou heard  
Of thy Godson,  
Of my Son ?  
For however much I have  
    searched for Him,  
I have not found Him any-  
    where."  
" I have not seen  
But I have heard  
That the heathens  
Have got hold of Him,  
Have tortured Him,  
Have hanged Him on the Cross,  
By the gate of Pilate,  
On a Cross of pinewood."  
The Mother of the Lord  
Of Heaven  
And Earth,  
When she heard it,  
Was deeply pained  
And she started  
And she went,  
Wailing and crying,  
Wringing her hands,  
Scratching her white face,  
Weeping out of black eyes,  
Sighing from her heart,

Going along the road,  
Searching for her Son.  
And as she went along  
She met a carpenter.

"A pleasant journey master  
carpenter."

"Thank you, Maica Pre-  
cista,<sup>1</sup>

And my Lady.

But why dost thou sob and cry,  
Scratching thy face,  
Wringing thy hands,  
Weeping from black eyes,  
And sighing bitterly ? "

"How am I not to cry and  
weep ?

I have had an only Son,  
And this one I have lost.  
And I have heard  
That He has allowed Himself  
To be hanged on the Cross  
By the gate of Pilate.  
Hast thou not seen,  
Hast thou not heard  
Of my Son,  
The Lord of Heaven  
And of earth ? "

"I have not seen Him,  
But I have heard.  
I have made the cross,  
For I was called,  
And paid a lot of money  
That I should make a cross of  
pinewood.  
They told me to make it light  
and short,

But I made it big and heavy."

"Master, master,  
Cursed shalt thou be."

Mayst thou work a year  
long

And get little in return."

And she went on again  
through the land,

Wailing and weeping,  
Scratching her face and wring-  
ing her hands

And sighing heavily.

And as she went along

She met a famous smith.

"A pleasant journey, master  
smith."

"I thank thee,

Maica Precista,

And my Lady.

Why dost thou cry and weep,  
etc. ? "

"Why shall I not cry and  
weep ?

I have had one Son and I have  
lost him, etc."

... And the master smith  
replied,

"I have not seen Him,

But I have heard of Him,

For I was called to make the  
nails,

And well did they pay me.

They asked me to make big  
and heavy nails,

But I made them thin and  
light."

<sup>1</sup> The popular name for Mary in the mouth of the people, meaning  
"All-pure Mother."



"Master smith, master  
smith,  
Blessed shalt thou be.  
Strike with thy hammer  
And get at once thy pay."  
Again she went along the road  
Wailing and weeping  
And searching for her Son.  
But who meets her?  
A frog.  
"A pleasant journey, frog-  
gie dear."  
"I thank you, Maica Pre-  
cista,  
And my Lady.  
But why art thou crying and  
weeping, etc."  
"Why shall I not cry and  
weep, etc."  
"O my lady,  
Why dost thou sob  
And cry and weep?  
Thou hast had only one Son  
And hast lost him,  
But what am I to say,  
Woe unto me,  
I who have had twelve chil-  
dren,  
And there came a terrible  
wheel  
And crushed eleven of them?  
Only one has remained,  
And He also is now limping."  
"Just call him hither."  
"O little flower, O little  
dear,  
Come to your mother."  
And there at once came  
A little frog,  
Blind and limping.  
When the Maica Precista set  
her eyes on him,  
She smiled and laughed.  
She blessed the frog  
And with her mouth she said,  
"Frog, when thou diest,  
Thy body shall not rot,  
And men may drink the water  
In which thou livest,  
Not being defiled by thee,  
And in every fountain shalt  
thou live."  
And Maica Precista walked  
through the land  
Weeping, etc.  
And she went on until she  
reached  
The Hill of Gararâul,  
A rock as sharp and pointed  
As the edge of a knife.  
There she attempted  
To kill herself.  
What did the hill do?  
It melted like wax,  
It ran like silver,  
And got soft like molten  
gold.  
And she could not  
Hurt herself.  
On the top of Gararâul  
High up near the heavens  
There stands a white church,  
With an altar of pearls  
With beads of wax,  
With gates of citron wood,  
With thresholds of incense.

In the midst of the church  
 Stands a golden stool,  
 With legs of silver  
 Fastened to the ground.  
 But who sits on the stool?  
 Sits the holy Nichita  
 With a short doublet,  
 With a drawn sword,  
 In his right hand,  
 And a white book  
 In his left hand.  
 And by the lighted torch  
 He sits and reads,  
 And reading he says,  
 —"Ye holy ones,  
 Ye Fathers,  
 Stand still, stand  
 And listen!  
 Holy Nicolai,  
 Holy Archangel Michael,  
 Holy Grigore  
 And holy Vasile!  
 Have you not seen,  
 Have you not heard  
 of the Son of Mary,  
 the Maica Precista,  
 The Lord of Heaven  
 And earth?"

"We have not seen Him,  
 But we have heard  
 That He has been caught  
 And put in a barrel of nails,  
 They dressed Him in a shirt of  
 nettles,  
 And put on His feet red-hot  
 iron shoes,  
 They girt Him with a girdle of  
 hawthorn," etc.

(Here follow details of the  
 Passion)

When the captain of the church  
 Heard this,  
 He went down from heaven  
 Down into Hades  
 Upon the Cross  
 Until he reached the Lord  
 Christ.

And when he came to Hades  
 (Iad)

He broke the bolts,  
 He shattered the iron gates,  
 And he took  
 Jesus out of Hades.

And after he had saved Him,  
 He took His soul,  
 And carried it up to heaven,  
 To sit at the right hand of His  
 Father,  
 Which was most pleasing to  
 him.

... And from here, Mary  
 went along again,  
 Weeping, wailing, etc.  
 Until she reached the gate of  
 Pilate;

She kicked with the left foot,  
 Against the gate,  
 But it did not open.

She kicked with the right  
 foot,  
 And it opened.

And God wept with one eye  
 And laughed with the other  
 eye.

And the Mother said;—  
 "O, my beloved Son,

What didst Thou reckon,  
What didst Thou think,  
That Thou hast given Thyself,  
And left Thyself  
In the hands of the scribes and  
Pharisees,  
To be hanged on the cross  
At the gate of Pilate,  
On a cross of pinewood ? "  
—“ O, my well-beloved  
mother,  
Do not grieve too much,  
For I have not given myself up  
For thy sake  
Nor my sake,  
But for the sake of John, St.  
John,  
My godfather and thy cum-  
ătrul,<sup>1</sup>  
And for the whole Christian  
world.  
If thou hadst gone up to  
Heaven,  
Thou wouldst have seen,  
That in times gone by,  
No new born was baptized ;  
No people joined in wedlock ;  
No burial service for the dead ;  
Mother did not weep for child,  
Nor child for mother,  
The cow did not low for the  
calf,  
Nor the calf for the cow ;  
The sheep did not bleat for the  
lamb  
Nor the lamb for the sheep ;  
No axe was heard  
In the forest ;  
Neither the youths were seen  
in their dances,  
Nor the maidens with their  
flowers,  
Nor was there heard the chirp-  
ing songs of birds.  
But now if thou wilt return to  
the world,  
Then thou wilt be filled with  
greater love  
For that which thou wilt see.  
For from to-day onwards,  
The new born will be baptized ;  
The couples joined in wedlock ;  
The dead buried with proper  
service ;  
Mother will weep for child  
And child for mother ;  
Cow will low for calf  
And calf for cow ;  
Sheep will bleat for lamb  
And lamb for sheep ;  
The axe will be heard in the  
forest.  
Thou wilt see the young man  
, at the dance  
And the maiden with flowers ;  
And thou will hear the chirping  
Song of birds. . . . ”  
This word has been given to  
the world.  
And whoever listens,  
And whoever has learned these  
words

<sup>1</sup> Relationship created between the parents and godparents through the baptism of the infant.

And will repeat them  
 In the evening lying down,  
 In the morning rising up,  
 Every week,  
 Every month,  
 At the half year  
 And at the end of the year,  
 Him I will take  
 By the right hand,  
 And I will lead him  
 On the straight road,  
 To lit-up houses,  
 To decked tables,  
 To burning torches,  
 To sweet food,  
 To full goblets,  
 Where the souls walk about,  
 As bees.

But whoever will know these  
 words  
 And will not repeat them,  
 Every month,  
 Every week,  
 Every year and  
 Every half year,  
 Him the Maica Precista will take  
 By the left hand,  
 And will lead him  
 On the crooked path,  
 To tables cleared,  
 To extinguished torches,  
 To bad food,  
 To empty goblets,  
 Where souls dark as coals  
 Are fitting about  
 Like flies. Amen.

*Another Variant.*

A cross in the house,  
 A cross on the table,  
 A cross in the four corners of  
 the house !  
 But this is not a house  
 Nor is it a table,  
 But a perfect cathedral,  
 And wonderfully beautiful.  
 Who can be seen in it ?  
 Who sits therein ?  
 Lady Mary sits  
 In the midst of the altar  
 On a golden stool,  
 With her face towards the east.  
 She looked into the books,  
 She looked to different parts,  
 To all the saints  
 And all the just.

She looked for them  
 And found them,  
 But only her Son,  
 The Lord of Heaven  
 And of the earth,  
 However much she searched,  
 She could not find Him.  
 Then she took  
 A white book,  
 In her right hand,  
 The holy book  
 In her left hand.  
 Then she looked  
 And she searched  
 Down the waters of the Jordan,  
 And she saw no one ;  
 She heard no one.  
 Then she took off

The white dress of the angels,  
And she put on  
The black robes of a nun,  
And the white staff  
In the right hand,  
The holy staff  
In the left hand.  
And she looked  
And she searched,  
Up the waters of the Jordan,  
And she saw no one  
And she heard no one,  
Only John,  
St. John,  
The godfather of the Lord,  
And as soon as she laid her eyes  
On him, she said to him :—  
" Listen, John,  
St. John !  
Hast thou seen  
Or hast thou heard  
Of my Son,  
Of thy Godson,  
The Lord of Heaven  
And of earth,  
And of all the Christians ? "  
" Holy Mother,  
With the sight of my eyes  
I have not seen Him,  
With the hearing of my ears  
I have heard of Him ;  
That he is in the hands of the  
Jews  
And the unbelieving heathens,  
For they have come together  
And captured Him,  
On the ' Great Thursday '   
With great fury  
And great hatred,  
On the field of Pilate  
They have pursued Him,  
And on a cross of pine wood  
They have fastened Him ;  
A crown of thorns  
They have put on His head ;  
They have girded Him  
With a girdle of thistles ;  
With ash they have fed Him  
And they have put on Him  
A shirt of nettles.  
With bitter wine they have  
quenched Him ;  
And they have passed nails  
Through His hands and feet.  
They threw at Him three  
hatchets  
And three rivers flowed.  
And if thou wilt see Him,  
Haste thither,  
To the fountain of Pilat,  
Where the birds are standing,  
Taking a mouthful of the  
water  
And giving praise to God.  
And when thou reachest there  
Wash thy face,  
Wash thy arms,  
Look towards the east,  
Thou art sure to see Him,  
Like a luminous morningstar."  
The holy mother listened to  
him  
And then she took to her  
journey,  
Weeping  
And crying.

With a loud voice up to Heaven,	And flowed away like molten silver.
With tears rolling to the ground.	No one in this world saw her, No one in this world heard her,
Where the tears fell, Golden apples grew,	Only Angelina, Marchelina,
The angels gathered them up And took them up to heaven.	The sisters of Lazarus,
And wherever her foot trod, A red ear of corn grew up,	And to the Mother of God they said :—
The ear of the corn Like the ointment of baptism,	" O Lord, O Abraham,
The gift of the Lord.	A wonderful thing we have seen,
And the Lady Mary went To the fountain of Pilat,	A wonderful thing we have heard."
Where the birds were stand- ing ;	And again they all went to the fountain of Pilat,
They took a mouthful of water And gave praise to God.	And she washed her face And she washed her arms,
When she reached there She washed her face	And she looked And she saw,
And washed her arms, But however much she searched	Her beloved Son, Like a luminous morning star, Coming towards her in holi- ness.
She saw Him nowhere.	When she saw Him,
Again she started and went, Weeping	She said to Him :—
And crying,	" O, you flower of basilic, O, my Son, just come hither,
To the mountains of Garaleu, To the mountains of Jerusa- lem,	And tell me in sooth, Why Thou hast given Thyself over,
And to the hill of Egim, To a split up rock,	Why hast Thou allowed Thyself To fall into the hands of strangers,
Like the edge of a knife, Like a sharpened point, To kill herself.	In the land of the heathen ? "
But she could not take her life For the rock melted like wax,	Why hast Thou not sought (to escape)

Why didst Thou not fly, (*i.e.*  
hide)  
Through heaven and upon  
earth,  
And under the earth,  
Under the roofs of houses,  
Through the bunch of flowers  
of the maidens,  
Through the bunch of flowers  
of the youths,  
Through the mangers of the  
oxen,  
Through the folds of the  
sheep? "

" O, holy mother,  
My beloved mother,  
I have not given myself up,  
Nor have I left myself (in  
their hands)  
For My sake,  
Nor for thy sake,  
But for the sake of the whole  
world ;  
For until I gave Myself up,  
Until I have left Myself in the  
hands of others,  
One neither saw  
Nor heard,  
The voices of birds,  
The song of the ploughman,  
Not a sheep with a lamb,  
Nor a cow with a calf,  
Neither mothers loved their  
children,  
Nor were the fields  
Green with grass,  
Nor did the fountain run cold  
water ;

And whoever died,  
Went straight to Hades. (*i.e.*)  
But from this time forth  
Torches will be lit in heaven,  
And they will never be ex-  
tinguished.  
And they will gather together  
And draw near  
The birds to their nestlings,  
The sheep to their lambs,  
The cows to their calves,  
And mothers to their children.  
Then will be seen,  
The fields green with grass,  
And the fountains with cold  
water,  
And whoever dies,  
Will belong to God."  
Whoever knows these (words)  
And who will recite them,  
These two, three words,  
Left by the Lord,  
And given to us on this earth,  
Every month,  
Every week,  
Evening  
And morning,  
When he lies down to sleep,  
When he rises up,  
Will neither see,  
Nor have,  
The land of Egypt  
And the house of bondage.  
But he will go and pass through  
Seventy - seven unquenched  
fires,  
And over seventy-seven slip-  
pery bridges,

Will go on and pass through	Lying down,
Seventy-seven toll houses free	And rising up,
of payment,	And does not remember these
And he will walk on	holy words,
To the right hand of the	There will come
Father,	The archangels
In the Kingdom of Heaven.	With Mother Eve,
But whoever will know these	And they will take him
(words)	By the left hand,
And will not recite them	And they will lead him
Every month,	Over the crooked path
Every week,	To his deeds,
Evening	To the very bottom of hell
And morning	Amen.

(MARIAN, pp. 130-133.)

Of the two variants given here, the latter seems to be the more primitive. The Christian element is almost entirely absent and the mere substitution of the name of another god would suffice to make it an ancient hymn. One could write a commentary in detail on almost every strophe of this last Christmas carol, but this is reserved for the more detailed study of the Rumanian charms and conjurations, as it belongs to that cycle and can only be properly understood in connection with that literature. For our purpose it is sufficient to show how an old apocryphal story has been grafted on to a totally different one, the people instinctively feeling that there may have been an original connection between these two narratives. These Christmas carols have entirely the character of nature myths, and they show the transition from an epic narrative to a charm and conjuration.

In considering these two examples we are confronted with the old problem of whether the poem is older than the prose, the carol older than the story. If we study the history of literature in general, we find everywhere that the



poem and the song precede the simple recital in prose, and the reason is obvious ; the song originates also among illiterate people, and many nations have ancient ballads and songs whose language has never yet been committed to writing. From a purely historical point of view, this alone would suffice to determine the relation between these two. A song, moreover, can the more easily be learned by heart and retained by memory through its rhythmical form and through the framework of the constantly recurring refrain. It is just because of these refrains that it can easily be transmitted from generation to generation with very little alteration in the form, and it thus obtains a fixity which is not affected by time. True, it can be enriched by various additions and slightly changed in character by the substitution of one hero for another or one name for another, but in its essence it remains the same. Not so the mere tale, which is always in a fluid condition and very seldom crystallises. It is much more apt to change and deteriorate, to be shortened or amplified and altered almost out of recognition. All these facts militate in favour of the greater ancience of the carol over the legend.

It follows then that these carols may belong to a period anterior to Christian influences. One has only to modify a few incidents to remove the Christian character altogether and to be carried back to an anterior period of pagan worship which lies at the root of these carols. They also become a key to the understanding of a vast number of charms and conjurations found in Rumanian literature. John, the river Jordan, the fountain or the gate of Pilat, the two sisters of Lazarus, the mount Garaleul, and the picture of Mary's grief are constant features in the former and throw an unexpected light upon the origin of these names in the conjurations. They have been transferred from one to the other and have taken the place of the various fairies and demons, the good and evil powers ;

and as for the Passion, if the name of Jesus did not occur in it with a few of the details taken from the New Testament, and it be readjusted to its primitive form, one would have the well-known figure of the suffering god, whose place is taken in the conjuration by the suffering patient. Needless to point out, the change in nature which is to take place as the consequence of the Passion entirely agrees with all the traditions of the dying god. It is not here the place to dwell at any length on the relation between the carol and charm. I refer to it only as another example of that intimate relation between one set of traditions and another set of traditions, Book-lore and Folk-lore, and the mutual influence which they have exercised upon one another.

The apocalyptic visions play also an important rôle, or rather the journey through Heaven and Hell, and to this category belongs then the apocryphal writing known as the Apocalypse of Mary. It runs on parallel lines with the Apocalypse of Peter and the Apocalypse of Paul and belongs to the large cycle of journeys through Heaven, Hell and Paradise, the highest and grandest representative of which is Dante's *Divina Commedia*. As already remarked above it thus belongs to a very large cycle and is not specifically a legend of Mary. But it has some peculiar features which distinguish it from all the other parallels, inasmuch as the character of a sympathetic friend with the sufferers in Hell is ascribed to Mary. She becomes the ready intercessor on behalf of the sinners, and then she is invested in the popular mind with the attributes of the Great Mother, who is the ready helper in all cases of suffering and who is the only one who renders ready assistance to those stricken with illness by the malevolent agency of evil spirits. It is thus that she becomes as well the last help for the sinners after the Day of Judgment.

The Rumanian women have the custom of placing a bundle of finely spun flax behind the cross when the priest comes to bless the house, for it is believed that Mary

collects all these bundles of flax and weaves out of them a huge net. She will work at it all the years until the Day of Judgment. Then God will gather the just and good into Paradise and the unrepentant sinner who will remain will be cast down to Hell. But Mary will intercede for these sinners and ask God to allow her to dip her net into Hell three times and pull up as many souls as the net will hold. God will grant her request and she will dip the net once and haul it up filled with souls of all the sinners who could clamber into it and who could cling to it. This she will do once, twice and thrice, and yet Hell will not have been emptied. A few souls will still remain behind. When the devils see how few are left, they will start eating them up. When they have finished with them, driven by hunger, they will eat one another until only one will remain, the great Skaraotski. He will then be tied to the pillar of Hell to die of hunger. And thus the world will be rid of all the devils.

Having reached the Day of Judgment I have also reached the end of my tale.

M. GASTER.

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## COLLECTANEA.

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### FOLK-LORE OF THE ISLE OF SKYE.

(*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxiii., p. 382 *et seq.*)

#### IV.

AMONG a people so conservative in reality as the islanders, many old customs are sure to linger. One or two of these are very interesting, and some of the chief of them I shall endeavour to describe. There are various festivals in the year breaking into the peaceful monotony of the crofters' existence, but the chief of these is Hallowe'en. I do not need to say that this is observed on the 31st of October, the eve of All Saints' Day. I do not also need to say that this Festival coincides with the New Year of the Ancient Celts, the time when the sun dies. It is little wonder that the sun was an object of adoration, for even now, on the broad moors, open and bare, there is little enough of him, and what must it have been when the land was covered with the forests which have helped to form the great peat bogs.

Before Hallowe'en in all the shops there is a great display of masks, or false faces, as they are more usually called in Scotland. This is in the village, for if the country people want them, they have to walk there for them. When the day comes, there is great preparation. All sorts of old garments are produced and there is great dressing up. This is not confined to children, for quite grown-up lads take part in it. Sometimes the faces are only blackened, this mostly in the case of the older boys. On that night no door is closed against the "guisers." They walk into any house without knocking, and penetrate into its recesses. The writer was sitting quietly in the drawing room one Hallow-

e'en night, when the door was flung open and a "guiser" stalked in. But its courage failed it and it departed. Its sex was indeterminate, but most likely female. Food must be provided for the visitors who are generally so disguised as to be quite unrecognizable. If scones and cakes and apples are not left out, the guisers make a raid on anything they see. They exercise the greatest licence, sitting on tables or floors or chairs, just as they fancy, and singing songs or holding conversation with each other, but taking no notice of the inhabitants of the house. In the writer's house, the "guisers" generally confined themselves to the kitchen premises, and the licence which they used was so great in the way of seizing upon such things as they fancied, that the servants were sometimes afraid, and never dared refuse them anything. After making the round of the village, the lads climbed a hill near, called in English, Stormy Hill, and there they lit a bonfire. For weeks before, they collect materials for this fire, here again exercising great licence, taking barrels, and even doors, wheelbarrows, or carts. No one's coal cellar is safe. After the fire is lit and burning well, the lads run round and leap through it, doing this until all has been burnt away. Late the same night, the girls consult their looking-glasses to see if the face of their future husbands will appear. Of course, the two common stories of the face of Satan appearing and driving the girl insane, and the face of the future husband, who had stolen in behind and looked over his sweetheart's shoulder, are found in the island. The burning of nuts and "dooking" for apples take place in most houses during the evening, but it is impossible to say whether these are not derived from south country people coming in to the island. In case some readers do not know what these ceremonies are I shall describe them briefly. Two nuts are placed on the hearth or the grate, representing a young man and a girl. If they burn together quietly, the course of true love will run smoothly, but if they pop off from each other, there will be trouble. In "dooking" for apples, a large tub full of water is brought in, and apples thrown into it. Into this, the company, with their hands tied at their backs, duck their heads, trying to catch the apples in their mouths. Careful mothers, to avoid colds, insist

on their offspring standing on a chair, with the butt end of a fork in their mouths and trying to spear the apples with the prongs, as the fork drops into the water. Another method of divination practised is to have three saucers, one with clean water, one with soot, and one empty. The clean water means a rich husband, the soot a poor one, and the empty saucer none. These are all practised in the town, more sophisticated than the country townships. There, though I have never seen the holding of the festival except in the town, I am told that in some parts the lads and young men get very riotous. There is great pulling up of cabbage stalks to see if the future partner for life is to be straight in mind and body. After these are pulled up, the youths run through the townships and play many rough pranks, throwing the cabbage stalks in at house doors, or at the windows which are frequently broken. They are even more daring than the town lads in their raids on combustibles to make the bonfires, and byres and stables are watched lest they be stripped of their woodwork. The girls visit the churchyard at midnight to try their fortune whether it is to be good or bad. Their future husbands' wraiths are expected to appear. Samhain (the Celtic New Year) is mainly observed in the Highlands, but echoes of it linger in the Lowlands. Children, dressed up and with blackened faces, still come round to the doors of the houses in the small spa which is the present abode of the writer, and until recently, a fire was made by boys on Dunmyat, the romantic hill which overlooks the same spa of Bridge of Allan. I wonder whether the masks are the survival of the disguising themselves as animals which was practised by the ancient Celts in the orgiastic rites at Samhain.

#### HOGMANAY.

I daresay there are few people in England at this day who know anything of their neighbours who do not know that Hogmanay is the 31st of December. I am not concerned with the much-disputed origin of the word, which has been discussed in the *Folk-lore Journal* before now, but with the way in which it and New Year's Day are observed in Skye. Early on the 31st of December, the children of the district sally out on the

round of the houses. All ages, from sixteen down to two years old, take part in the rounds. At each door the groups of children stop and sing rhymes until the inmates come out and give them pennies or sweets, cakes, oranges, or apples. Several rhymes are sung, the chief among them being the usual one :

Get up, good wife, and shake your feathers,  
And do not think that we are beggars,  
We are only boys and girls come out to play,  
And come to seek our Hogmanay.

This rhyme is universal in Scotland. In the writer's grandmother's day when the latter was a small child in Fife, more than a hundred years ago, in the very beginning of the nineteenth century or before that date, the children of the neighbourhood used to come singing the very same song. (With reference to *Hallowe'en* in the same place in Fife, the children used to sing the following rhyme :

This is the nicht o' Hallowe'en  
A' the witches are to be seen,  
Some o' them black, an' some o' them green,  
And some o' them like a randy quean.)

The Hogmanay rhyme is also sung in many places at the present day in Scotland. Other rhymes the children in Skye sing are the following :—

- (1) A Christmas, A Christmas,  
A Happy New Year,  
A pocketful of money  
And a barrellful of beer.
- (2) God bless the master of this house,  
God bless the mistress too  
And all the little children  
That round the table go.
- (3) Hogmanay, Hogmanay,  
Give us a penny and let us away,  
If you haven't a penny, a ha'penny will do,  
If you haven't a ha'penny, God bless you.

- (4) As I went down the river side  
The river gave a jump,  
If you've anything within the house  
Give us a big lump.
- (5) A Gaelic rhyme, of which to my regret I have not  
got the words nor the translation.

I make no comment on the fact that most of these rhymes are in English, and that in the most Gaelic speaking corner of the British Isles. They must have been introduced long ago, however, as they had always been sung as far back as the memory of the oldest resident could go. These rhymes of course refer to the keeping of Hogmanay in the capital "city" (as the country people call it) of the island, but some of them were common then in the country townships also. A variation of No. 4 is, "If you won't give us a whole cake, Give us a big lump."

There was nothing striking in the keeping of New Year's Day. As everywhere in Scotland, "first-footing" went on, and the "first-foot" must not leave the house with empty hands, or ill-luck and scarcity would come to the penurious household which allowed such a thing. Drinking went on, and it was considered a small offence for a man to take a glass at New Year, and, indeed, many did so then who never "tasted" at any other time. In the country districts, in many places Old New Year, the 13th of January, was kept instead of the 1st of January, New Style.

#### CHARMS.

A charm for toothache was to take a nail from a coffin in the churchyard and hold it to the aching tooth. There was also a written charm, and many country people possessed this, but I never saw one.

A cure for erysipelas was to take a plant which grew abundantly on old walls (I could never learn the name of this, but it seemed from the description to be wall-rue), hold it to the fire and then to the affected spot, and to go on doing this until the heated plant drew out the fire from the skin.

A sprain was cured by taking a piece of string and tying knots in it, moistening the string with saliva as the knots are



tied. I was told that this was essential. Then the healer says, "As Jesus relieved horses in the stable, hearing them groan, so may bone go to bone, marrow to marrow, sinew to sinew."

Snake bite was cured by putting a snake's head on the place. It could also be cured by putting to the place what is called a snake stone, a small stone with a hole in the middle, probably a spindle whorl. This, however, was used mostly to keep away snakes and prevent their biting. This stone was a most valued possession, and the only one I knew of in the village was hardly allowed to be shown.

Medicines for various ailments were still made. The most popular tonic, an extremely bitter infusion, was made from buck bean, which beautiful flower grew abundantly in the bogs. Carrageen was given for debility, and the oil of the common seal was the cure for consumption. The eating of dulse and tangle was purifying for the blood, and sea water was also a valuable medicine.

The eel, though abundant enough, was never eaten, as it was believed unwholesome, owing to its alleged origin from horses' hairs. The pig was quite taboo, and in many parts the hare also. A well educated and cultured resident told me that he could not till that day see a toad without fear, as he had been brought up to believe it highly poisonous. A servant-woman of the writer from the neighbouring Isle of Lewis was terrified beyond speech when a toad came near her. In a land where cows are such a large part of the wealth of the people, there are many superstitions about them. Among these are, (1) A churn must not be lent to a neighbour if one's cow has had only one calf. (2) A calf must have a little of its mother's manure mixed with its food. (3) To cure a cow of any ailment the best way is to take a piece of silver money or a silver ornament, pouring water over it while saying an incantation (which my informant was not able to give me in English), and giving it to the cow to drink.

If a sheep appears sickly, the belief is that a shrew has jumped over it, hence the saying about an unlucky man, "The shrew has jumped over his back." Though a black cat is generally considered lucky, one must not carry such over water. When the writer was leaving the island, a woman, Mrs. Macdougall,

who was the mother of one of the servants, was in an excited state because an elderly black cat was one of the party going to the mainland.

One or two beliefs about peats exist. One must not take away a live peat without putting on two others. From a house where an infant has not cut any teeth, one must not carry away live peat.

To find out if any one has been speaking evil of one, one must take some stones, large stones for a tall person and small for a short, from a brook between one's own house and the suspected person's. These stones must be made red hot in the fire, and kept there for twenty-four hours. Before being put in the fire, they must not be laid on the earth, but kept on a shovel on a high place. When red hot, they must be put into a pail of cold water. If they hiss, there is evil speaking, and as the hissing diminishes, so the evil speaking will shrink. When cold, they must be thrown towards the adversary's house. The practice of making a clay image and sticking pins into the vital parts to cause injury to an enemy still existed until the writer left the island in 1911. A small packet containing straw and stones and other rubbish with a bad wish said over it, and put among the thatch of a byre, will cause trouble with the cows.

Certain people, for no apparent reason, are lucky to meet if one is setting off on any business. One must not, if one is in a boat, cross before herring boats setting out to the fishing. They will turn and go home if one does so. One must not cross over to the sunny side of the road in front of any one passing by. The sign of the cross on one's breast keeps off the evil eye, also prevents harm from ghosts. A silver coin put under the threshold when a house is built brings good luck. To keep away witches from one's house, bury a piece of old iron near the gate and sow the path with salt. A man gave the writer a piece of old iron to bury at the gate of her new home, which she duly did. Salt is very lucky. A newly married couple in almost all parts of Scotland, should find a dish of salt waiting them when they enter their new home. An infant should not be taken out before it is christened. A piece of iron should be put in its cradle. It should be taken upstairs before being taken

down. As this was impossible in the writer's house, the nurse stood on a chair with it in her arms. This belief is common all over Scotland.

Certain days are lucky. Monday and Tuesday are unlucky days to move. Moving then means either too long or too short a stay. Servants will not go to a new place on Saturday. This is common in Scotland and is sometimes inconvenient. "Saturday's flitting is a short sitting," is the saying. The saying about Thursday is, "If I had a lean lamb, I should sell it on Thursday."

If anyone is drowned in the sea, either by accident or suicide, the fish forsake their banks for years to come. Suicides must not be buried in sight of the sea, but in the hollows of hills. In old days suicides were burnt.

MARY JULIA MACCULLOCH.



## REVIEWS.

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DIO: FORMAZIONE E SVILUPPO DEL MONOTEISMO NELLA STORIA DELLE RELIGIONI: Volume I., L'ESSERE CELESTE NELLE CREDENZE DEI POPOLO PRIMITIVI, by RAFFAELE PETTAZZONI. Rome, Società Editrice Athenaeum, 1922.

SOME twenty years ago or more, the publication of the late Andrew Lang's work on the Making of Religion, in which he argued that the earliest form of religion among primitive peoples was a form of monotheism, provoked in these pages some discussion on the religion of the Australian natives. Mr. Lang asserted a pure form of monotheism for the Australian natives. Without committing himself to the exact origin of so unexpected a form of religion in peoples so low in the scale of civilization he compared it to the Hebrew form, and seemed by his rhetorical exposition to challenge for it an origin and development very similar to that of the Hebrews as delineated in the Bible. Shortly afterwards Father Schmidt, the editor of *Anthropos*, took the matter up in even a more extreme form, but after publishing one volume and promising further development of his thesis, the war intervened and no more has, so far as I know, appeared. Last year the professor of the history of Religion in the University of Bologna, Prof. Pettazzoni, approached it from a different angle and produced a preliminary volume named at the head of this paper. With a good deal of skill and erudition he analyses in it the arguments adduced on behalf of Mr. Lang and Father Schmidt, and others also who intervened in the discussion, and after a full examination he decides that the Australian high gods were by no means to be equated, as Mr. Lang and after him Father Schmidt had concluded, with the

Hebrew Jehovah, but that they were ultimately derived from the sky. They owed nothing to the influence of the religions of any peoples of higher civilizations, nor to an evolution by way of development, as Sir Edward Tylor had suggested, of higher religions generally from animism, for they had issued through a primordial symbolism in a primordial monotheism, which was the direct result of life in the open air by uncivilized peoples, and the sight which they beheld everywhere of a boundless sky that seemed to have its face constantly directed upon them. This view it was that caused them to regard the sky-god as supreme and to endow it with the elevated attributes of omniscience, omnipotence, immortality and such ethical qualities as the mind in that stage was able to reach. Accordingly we find the god, to whom is ascribed supremacy and creation, is also credited with these very powers which mark it out as the sky-god,—and that not in one people but practically everywhere.

While, too, Lang is right in drawing a broad line of distinction between animism and the primitive monotheism of the sky-god, it is not because there is any wide distance between the ethical or Hebraic conception of the one and the other, or between the cultural stories and the sagas which, as Mr. Lang so frequently insisted, were merely a joke with no sort of sacredness about it; but simply because both were the invention of a people in an early stage of civilization, to whom animistic conceptions were unknown, and who saw no incongruity in the collocation of stories that would seem insufferable to us.

From the Australian race Prof. Pettazzoni turns to other peoples of low civilization in either hemisphere, and finds everywhere the same high gods, the result of the impression on their minds of the lofty, all-pervading heavens.

It is by no means invariably, however, that such a being receives worship; for oftentimes he is reckoned as too high above the world to trouble about men and their affairs. However, where rain is needed he is frequently appealed to for help, and is looked on as a giver of rain; he is an ethical power and receives worship accordingly. The gift of rain and abundant harvests are then regarded as the condition and the reward of obedience to his will in this respect. In short, the Heaven-god

as the source of thunder becomes the most highly venerated divinity.

Prof. Pettazzoni does not offer us "a key to all the mythologies." It is true that his work is intended to include before its close a discussion of the general evolution of monotheism. But the present volume only extends to the beliefs of primitive peoples, leaving for consideration hereafter the evolution of forms of monotheism in other societies.

In the meantime it must be said that the present volume, while putting the case only for what may be described as primitive societies, puts it efficiently and forcibly; and we shall look forward with interest and curiosity to the further development of a theme so well advocated.

E. SIDNEY MAITLAND.

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MAZES AND LABYRINTHS: A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THEIR HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT, by W. H. MATTHEWS, B.Sc. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1923. Price 18s net.

THE author tells us that his object is "simply to provide a readable survey of a subject which, in view of the lure it has exercised throughout many ages and under a variety of forms, has been almost entirely neglected in our literature—the subject of mazes and labyrinths treated from a general and not a purely archaeological, horticultural, mathematical or artistic point of view." The book is obviously the work of an enthusiast, the illustrations (151 in all) are a notable feature and the bibliography is admirable. The earlier chapters are a comprehensive summary of the information to be found in the classical writers and the researches of later explorers. He deals at considerable length with the Cretan labyrinth and later with the effect of the discoveries consequent on Sir Arthur Evans' excavations on the then accepted etymology of the word labyrinth. Undoubtedly the most interesting chapters, particularly to English readers and to students of folk-lore, are those which deal with turf labyrinths in this island and their origin, stone labyrinths and rock engravings and the Dance or Game of Troy. The simi-

larity between Turf labyrinths and the French pavement labyrinths is an interesting point. The author says nothing of Turf labyrinths in Ireland. If they are unknown in that country the fact is surely sufficiently remarkable to be worth mentioning. He does not treat at any length of the geographical distribution of the most famous European mazes, but his careful collection of the local names given to these devices is particularly interesting. Indeed, one cannot help regretting that he has not gone further in this matter, for there must be local legends about these curious names. For instance in Iceland, where the mazes are sometimes formed of earth, the name applied is *Völundarhus* (Wieland's or Weyland's House). This raises a host of questions, but the author takes us no further. He cites Dr. Fewkes, the Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, who some fifteen years ago investigated the ancient Indian pictographs of labyrinthine type; and Mr. Matthew's own opinion is that the labyrinth was introduced to the Indians by the early Spaniards with whom it would have been a familiar symbol. Believers in Plato's *Atlantis* might prefer to accept the theory that the labyrinth, both in the Old World and the New, had a common origin of remarkable antiquity. (See Ignatius Donnelly's *Atlantis*.)

About a fifth of the book is devoted to the floral labyrinth the dwarf-shrub maze and the topiary labyrinth or hedge maze. It is a curious fact that in the whole range of sixteenth and seventeenth century gardening manuals by English writers there is very little about the hedge maze, but dwarf-shrub mazes planted with hyssop, thyme, etc., are described, with plans for their construction, by nearly all of them. That they were a common feature even in small gardens is evinced by the fact that plans for them are given in the first and surely the most charming book on cottage gardening—*The Country Housewife's Garden* (1618).

Mr. Matthews treats at length, also of the famous French mazes of the latter half of the seventeenth century and of the *doolhof* of the Dutch gardens (with an illustration of that at Loo, the Dutch home of William and Mary).

The book is a delightful survey of a delightful subject. The

author emphasises that there is room for much research and for the possibility of highly interesting discoveries in respect of almost every phase of the labyrinth's past history, but his book will certainly ensure a revival of interest in and consequently the preservation of those few relics of rustic revelry and prehistoric magic which yet remain with us in the shape of the turf labyrinths.

ELEANOR SINCLAIR ROHDE.

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THE CLITHEROE DISTRICT: PROVERBS AND SAYINGS, CUSTOMS AND LEGENDS, AND MUCH OF ITS HISTORY, by W. S. WEEKS. Clitheroe, Advertiser and Times Co., 1922.

MR. WEEKS gives us in this pamphlet an interesting collection of Lancashire folk-lore. The legends of Peg O'Neill's Well, the Devil's Footprints on Pendle, and the stones dropped by him on Apronfull Hill, the devil appearing to the tailor, the Death Omen of the Parkers, the Old Hall Boggart, Haunted Houses, the Grindleton Witch, the passing of a funeral conferring a right-of-way, the Legend of the Brackens, of Pudsay's Leap—such and many others are examples of the valuable collection of local folk-lore.

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MISS BURNE

## OBITUARY.

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### CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

It is a sad duty which falls upon us to record the passing away of Miss Burne, with whom we have been so long associated in the work of the Society, and who had done so much for folk-lore that we had hardly dared to look forward to the Society without her gracious presence and influence; indeed, we had hardly thought it possible. Even when she was struck down, when it was known that the dread disease from which she suffered was mortal, and that we could not expect her back to share our councils and to help forward the work she so greatly loved, and which owed so much to her enthusiasm and untiring zeal, we did not think of her as taken away; if we did not look for her return our thoughts involuntarily went back to her and measured what we did by her wise and gentle standards. She had been so long identified with the Society and its scientific work that we could not imagine it without her. But to our sorrow the inevitable end at last has come.

Though she was collecting and studying folk-lore in Shropshire before the Folklore Society began its career, she did not immediately join it: it was not until 1883 that her name appears in the list of members. She began her study by collecting information for the Severn Valley Naturalists' Field Club, and her notes interested so much the Secretary of the Club that he prevailed on her to allow Miss Jackson to see them. This lady, in collecting materials for her contemplated *Shropshire Word-Book*, had naturally become so much interested in the folk-lore as well as the dialect of the peasantry that she proposed to follow up her work on the dialect by another work on the folk-lore.

This led to a friendship between the two ladies, both of them interested in the Shropshire peasantry. Miss Jackson suffered from ill-health, and before very long it became clear that she could not expect to have the strength to carry out her plans. Dying, she commended both tasks to Miss Burne, and left her collections to her with full information as to her intentions and the shape they were to take. She could not have chosen more wisely. Miss Burne entered fully into her wishes and loyally carried them out. First the *Word-Book*, and then after a little delay, necessitated by further collection and investigation, the book on Shropshire Folk-lore were given to the world. It was, I believe, the first time the folk-lore of a county was published—at any rate in a form so complete and so scientific. And it was at once received with acclaim, not only by persons interested in the county, but by students and others interested all over the country in folk-lore—a study then gradually finding its aims and methods; and Miss Burne was welcomed as a recruit from whom much might be expected in the coming years.

At the annual meeting in 1887 she was chosen as a member of the Society's Council. Meanwhile she had been busy greatly increasing and putting into order Miss Jackson's folk-lore collections, and the book, a large, well-printed volume of upwards of 650 pages, was issued in 1883. It was hailed as a valuable contribution to the rising science of folk-lore.

Her experience as a collector, her keen appreciation of the meaning and methods of folk-lore, and her wide knowledge were speedily found to be of value. She took a useful part in framing the original *Handbook of Folk-lore* issued by the Society under the editorship of Sir Laurence Gomme, and she contributed much to the organization and success of the Folklore Congress of London in 1891. Subsequently to this, however, she was for some time occupied in duties which precluded much attention to folk-lore. When released from these she returned to scientific work, and at the invitation of the Council of the Society she undertook the editorship of *Folk-Lore*. Under her care and energy it quickly attained a development worthy of the Society, as the large and valuable volumes of the years before the war remain to show.

In the year 1909 she was unanimously chosen President of the Society, the first woman to occupy that position. She accepted with much misgiving, which proved to have no justification,

for though, as she notes in her first Presidential Address, a woman had not previously delivered such an address to a learned society, she was appointed with the concurrence of everyone, and not only delivered two uncommonly able and striking addresses, but in her administration of the affairs of the Society assisted to raise it to the highest pitch of influence. The *Handbook* of 1890 was by that time out of print as well as out of date, and a new edition was imperative. Miss Burne took up the work, and it was her erudition, tact and determination in the chair of the committee to which it was entrusted that carried it through after long and arduous discussions. Nor was she satisfied to rest on this achievement. She seemed to have an eagerness and capacity for work that nothing could exhaust. The new *Handbook* was hardly completed before she had thrown herself into a work more arduous still, being nothing less than the compilation of a *corpus* of British Folk-lore, or at least of the first part of such a *corpus* by undertaking a new edition of the *Calendar Customs* of Brand's *Vulgar Antiquities*, which had been suggested by Dr. Crooke. A committee was formed with Mr. Wheatley as chairman, and on his unfortunate demise Miss Burne succeeded him. But her own work was nearly done. She presided over the labours of the committee for a year or two with her unquenchable ardour. But one day in 1922 she was struck down by apoplexy, and though she survived until a few weeks ago the power, but not the love for the Society and the feeling of the urgency of the toil to which she was called, had forsaken her. She leaves us with a legacy that needs, and will repay, all our care to bring to its full fruition.

E. S. H.

We have also to record with much regret the deaths of two scholars who have done much service in the cause of anthropology and folk-lore—Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, the foremost British authority on Buddhism, and author of numerous works on the subject; and of Dr. James Hastings, the editor of various Dictionaries of the Bible, and, in particular, of the great *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, the work of his later years.

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1911. Dewar, Mrs. A., Hospital Hill, King William's Town, S. Africa.
1905. Dennis, Miss C. J., Laracor, Cheltenham.
1922. Douglas, C. M., Esq., Tantallon, Balerno, Midlothian.
1903. Douttè, Prof. Edmund, villa Rupert, rue Marey, Algiers.
1904. Drake, Carey, Esq., The Malt House, Yattendon, Berks.
1922. Eliot, T. S., Esq., 9 Clarence Gate Gardens, N.W. 1.
1916. Enthoven, R. E., Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Barlavington Manor, Petworth, Sussex.
1893. Evans, Sir Arthur J., M.A., F.S.A., Ashmolean Library, Oxford.
1899. Evans, Sir E. Vincent, 64 Chancery Lane, W.C. 2.
1917. Evans, Miss Joan, St. Hugh's College, Oxford.
- c. 1889. Fahie, J. J., Esq., Green Croft, Chesham Bois Common, Bucks.
1922. Fairweather, W. C., Esq., 62 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
1893. Fawcett, F., Esq., O.B.E., c/o National and Provincial Union Bank, 2 Princes Street, E.C.
1890. Feilberg, Dr. H. F., Askov, Vejlen, Denmark.
1921. Flügel, J. C., Esq., 11 Albert Road, N.W. 1.
1921. Foster, Philip A. S., Esq., 21 Zulla Road, Carrington, Nottingham.
1922. Fox, Rev. C. E., Heuru, San Cristoval, Solomon Islands, per Rev. B. G. Fox, The Vicarage, Halkett, Canterbury, N. Zealand.
1916. Fox, Miss Helen, Faar Park, Keswick.
1892. Fraser, D. C., Esq., M.A., The Grove, Woodchurch Rd., Birkenhead.
1883. Fraser, Sir J. G., M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., Trinity College, Cambridge (*Vice-President*).
1889. Freer, W. J., Esq., V.D., F.S.A., Stonygate, Leicester.
1912. Garbett, Collin Campbell, Esq., I.C.S., Mardi State, via Kangie, Punjab, India.
1912. Gardiner, Alan H., Esq., D.Litt., 9 Lansdowne Road, W. 11.
- c. 1886. Gaster, M., Ph.D., 193 Maida Vale, W. 9 (*Vice-President*).
1882. George, C. W., Esq., 31 Hampton Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1916. Georgevitch, T. R., Esq., 3A Prince Eugen Street, Belgrade, Serbia, per Geo. Salby, 65 Great Russell St., W.C. 1.
1909. Gerould, Prof. G. H., Queen's Court, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.



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 1907. Gomme, A. Allan, Esq., The Old Cottage, South Park, Reigate, Surrey.  
 1898. Gomme, Lady, 88 Ridgmount Gardens, W.C. 1 (*Hon. Member*).  
 1883. Gosselin-Grimshawe, Hillier, Esq., Bengoe Hall, Hertford.  
 1912. Grant, J., Esq., 31 George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh.  
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1921. Hadden, Stanley E., Esq., 173 Cronin Road, Peckham, S.E.  
 c. 1890. Haddon, A. C., Esq., D.Sc., F.R.S., 3 Cranmer Rd., Cambridge (*Vice-President*).  
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 1901. Hamilton, Miss Katherine, Clinton St., Fort Wayne, Indiana, U.S.A.  
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 1900. Heather, P. J., Esq., 8 Laurel Rd., Wimbledon, S.W. 20.  
 1905. Henderson, C. A., Esq., I.C.S., B.A., Bunlipatam, Madras, per Bank of Madras, Bangalore.  
 c. 1906. Hildburgh, W. L., Esq., M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., Hotel Rembrandt, Thurloe Place, S.W. 7.  
 1921. Hills, Mrs. A. Goldston, Nettles, Mitcham Lane, S.W. 16.  
 1914. Hilton-Simpson, M. W., Esq., Sole Street House, Faversham, Kent. [El Kantara, S.E. Algeria.]  
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Bank, 9 Gracechurch Street, E.C.
1909. Lones, T. E., Esq., LL.D., Chivers Coton, Alexandra Road,  
Watford.
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1912. Macdonald, G., Esq., M.D., Wildwood, Haslemere, Surrey.  
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 1918. Malcolm, Capt. L. W. G., Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol.  
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 1922. Martin-Harvey, J. S. C., Esq., Christ Church, Oxford.  
 1917. Marvin, Dwight, Esq., 55 Fernwood Rd., Summit, New Jersey, U.S.A.  
 1922. Matt, Mrs. G. Edison, c/o British Vice-Consul, Palma, Majorca, Spain.  
 1889. Matthews, Miss E., Raymead, Park Road, Watford.  
 1902. Maxwell, W. G., Esq., Attorney General, Kedah, Malay Peninsula.  
 1905. Maylam, P., Esq., 32 Watling Street, Canterbury.  
 1918. Mellor, R. H., Esq., Llewelyn Chambers, Colwyn Bay.  
 1918. Menon, V. K. Raman, Esq., Hill Bungalow, Tripunittura (Cochin State), India.  
 1892. Merrick, W. P., Esq., Woodleigh, Shepperton.  
 1915. Migeod, F. W. H., Esq., Northcote, Christchurch Rd., Worthing.  
 1891. Milne, F. A., Esq., M.A., 11 Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. 2 (*Secretary*).  
 1902. Milroy, Mrs. M. E., The Oast House, Farnham, Surrey.  
 1909. Mitchell, W., Esq., 14 Forbesfield Road, Aberdeen.  
 1890. Mond, Mrs. Frida, 20 Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W. 8.  
 1923. Mott, Mrs. M. S., Writers' Club, 16 Norfolk St., Strand, W.C. 2.  
 1920. Murray, His Excellency J. H. B., Government House, Port Moresby, Papua (per E. J. Coles, *Mindie's Library*, 34 New Oxford Street, W.C. 1).  
 c. 1897. Myfen, J. L., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 101 Banbury Road, Oxford.  
 1920. Newman, L. F., Esq., St. Catharine's College, Cambridge.  
 1921. Nicholl, Dr. Maurice, 146 Harley Street, W. 1.  
 1919. Notcutt, E. A., Esq., 27 Cannon St., E.C. 4.  
 1913. Nourry, M. Emile, 62 Rue des Ecoles, Paris.  
 1918. Olcott, Miss F. J., 1270 Ocean Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.  
 c. 1916. O'May, J., Esq., c/o Barker & Co., Chartered Bank Chambers, Singapore.  
 1886. Ordish, T. Fairman, Esq., F.S.A., Langdale, Herne Bay.  
 1890. Owen, Miss Mary A., 306 North Ninth Street, St. Joseph's, Missouri, U.S.A. (*Hon. Member*).  
 1921. Ozanne, Rev. J. F., St. Pierre du Bois, Guernsey.  
 1921. Page, A. J., Esq., I.C.S., c/o Thos. Cook & Son, Rangoon, Burma.  
 1911. Partridge, Miss J. B., Wellfield, Minchinhampton, Glos.  
 1921. Pansey, C. R., Esq., M.C., Kohima, Naga Hills, Assam, India.  
 1910. Pendlebury, C., Esq., Arlington House, 39 Burlington Rd., Gunnersbury, W. 4.  
 1920. Perry, W. J., Esq., 170 Cecil Street, Moss Side, Manchester.

1921. Peel, Mrs. Willoughby, Eaglescarne, Haddington, Scotland.  
 1916. Popovic, Prof. Paolo, University, Belgrade, Serbia.  
 c. 1879. Power, Sir D'Arcy, K.B.E., M.A., M.B., F.S.A., 10A Chandos Street, Cavendish Square, W. 1.
1906. Raleigh, Miss K. A., 14 St. Quintin Avenue, N. Kensington, W. 10.  
 1920. Ray, Kumar S. Kumar, Esq., 52 Police Hospital Road, Calcutta.  
 1917. Read, Miss Moutray, The Gate House, Wadhurst, Sussex.  
 1888. Reade, John, Esq., 340 Leval Avenue, Montreal, Canada.  
 1920. Reay, Major T., Edens Lawn, Haltwhistle, via Carlisle.  
 1922. Rice, David T., Esq., Oddington House, Moreton-in-the-Marsh.  
 1906. Richards, F. J., Esq., L.C.S., c/o Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament Street, S.W. 1.  
 1911. Richardson, Miss Ethel, The Vyne-in-Hants, Basingstoke.  
 1923. Robbers, J. G., Esq., 151/153 Singel, Amsterdam.  
 1920. Roberts, Professor Stanley, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.  
 1921. Robertson, F. W., Esq., L.C.S., Collector of Saloon District, Madras.  
 1923. Rohde, Miss E., Cranham Lodge, Reigate, Surrey.  
 1903. Rorie, D., Esq., M.D., C.M., 1 St. Devenick Terrace, Cults, Aberdeenshire.
1901. Rose, H. A., Esq., Milton House, La Haule, Jersey.  
 1921. Rose, Harold E. A., Esq., McGill University, Montreal, Canada.  
 1920. Rose, H. J., Esq., University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.  
 c. 1891. Rouse, W. H. D., Esq., Litt.D., Perse School House, Gile Road, Cambridge (*Vice-President*).  
 1916. Routledge, Mrs. Scoresby, 9 Cadogan Mansions, Sloane Square, S.W. 1.  
 1921. Roy, Sarat Chandra, Ranchi, Chota Nagpur, India (*Hon. Member*).  
 1904. Rutherford, Miss B., Meadowbank, Fort Case, Ross-shire.  
 1920. Ryder, Miss M., 122 Pevensy Road, Eastbourne.
1922. Sanderson, G. Meredith, Esq., Zomba, Nyasaland.  
 1879. Sayce, The Rev. Professor A. H., M.A., LL.D., D.D., 8 Chalmers Crescent, Edinburgh (*Vice-President*).  
 1923. Schapera, I., Esq., Gordon Lodge, Gordon St., Cape Town, S. Africa.  
 1911. Schmidt, Dr. F. S., St. Gabriel Mödling, Vienna, Austria.  
 1921. Scott, J. S., Esq., Trinity College, Cambridge; and Eridine, Port-Inisherrick, by Taynult, Argyll.  
 1895. Seligman, C. G., Esq., M.D., Court Leys, Toot Baldon, Oxford.  
 1906. Seton, Sir M. C., C.B., 26 Upper Park Road, N.W. 3.  
 1909. Shakespeare, Col. J., 15 Alexandra Court, Maida Vale, W. 9.  
 1909. Sharp, Cecil J., Esq., 4 Maresfield Gardens, N.W. 3.  
 1900. Shewan, A., Esq., M.A., LL.D., Seagate, St. Andrews, Fife.  
 1896. Singer, Professor, 27 Lanpenstrasse, Bern, Switzerland.  
 1907. Singh, H.H. The Raja Sir Bhuri, Chamba, via Dalhousie, Punjab, per King, King & Co., Box 110, Bombay.  
 1921. Smith, Professor Elliot, 31 Belsize Crescent, N.W. 3.  
 1913. Smith, Prof. John A., Magdalen College, Oxford.  
 1893. Spoer, Mrs. H. Hamish, F.R.S.G.S., American Bible House, Stamboul, Constantinople.

1922. Sprules, Miss N. W., Haberdashers' Aske's School, Acton, W. 3.  
 1899. Starr, Professor Frederick, University of Chicago, Chicago, U.S.A.  
 (Hon. Member).  
 1909. Steinitzer, H., Esq., 8/r Wilhelm Strasse, Munich, Germany.  
 1922. Stewart, J. A., Esq., Kyanske, Upper Burma, c/o Thos. Cook &  
 Son, Rangoon.  
 1909. Sullivan, W. G., Esq., B.A., 1545 N. Meridian Street, Indianapolis,  
 Ind., U.S.A.  
 1889. Tabor, C. J., Esq., The White House, Knotts Green, Leyton, E. 10  
 (Hon. Auditor).  
 1923. Talbot, P. Amaury, Esq., Abbot's Morton, Inkberrow, Worcs.  
 1885. Temple, Lieut.-Col. Sir R. C., Bart., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., The Nash,  
 Worcester.  
 c. 1896. Thomas, N. W., Esq., Egwoba, Trefonen, Oswestry.  
 1912. Thompson, T. W., Esq., M.A., F.C.S., Trent View, Repton, Derby.  
 1911. Thompson, W. B., Esq., United University Club, Pall Mall East,  
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 1913. Thurston, Edgar, Esq., C.I.E., Cumberland Lodge, Kew, Surrey.  
 1910. Torday, E., Esq., Apsley House, S. Parade, Llandudno.  
 1911. Torr, Miss Doma, Carlett Park, Eastham, Cheshire.  
 1887. Travancore, H.H. The Maharajah of, Huzur, Cutcherry, Trivandrum,  
 India.  
 1878. Udal, His Honour J. S., F.A.S., 24 Neville Court, N.W. 8.  
 1917. Waddell, Lieut.-Col. L. A., 55 Campbell St., Greenock, Scotland.  
 1918. Waites, Miss Margt. C., Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley,  
 Mass., U.S.A. (per G. P. Putnams, 24 Bedford St., W.C. 2).  
 1922. Watkins, Alfred, Esq., F.R.P.S., J.P., 5 Harley Court, Hereford.  
 1920. Watt Smyth, Mrs., 77 Victoria Rd., Kensington, W.  
 c. 1910. Webster, Prof. Hutton, University of Nebraska, Station A, Lincoln,  
 Nebraska, U.S.A.  
 1910. Weeks, The Rev. J. H., 61 Lucien Rd., Tooting Common, S.W. 17.  
 1920. Weeks, W. Self, Esq., F.S.A., Westwood, Clitheroe, Lancashire.  
 1915. Weinberg, H. J., Esq., The Park, North Rd., Nottingham.  
 1915. Weinberg, Mrs. M., Hardwick Ho., The Park, Nottingham.  
 1918. Weld Blundell, Herbert, Esq., Brooks's, St. James' St., S.W. 1.  
 1906. Westermarck, Prof. E., Ph.D., Woodman's Cottage, Box Hill,  
 Dorking.  
 1897. Weston, Miss J. L., Lyceum Club, Piccadilly, W.: 24 Rue de la  
 Ville, l'Eveque, Paris, VIII.  
 1910. Westropp, T. J., Esq., 115 Strand Rd., Sandymount, Dublin.  
 1918. Whale, G., Esq., 49 York Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.  
 1922. Wharton, Dr. E. Adela, Buckhurst Cottage, Wilkyham, Sussex.  
 1922. White, J. G., Esq., Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.,  
 per B. Quaritch, 11 Grafton St., W.  
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1911. Wingate, Mrs. J. S., Northfield, Minnesota, U.S.A.
- c. 1893. Wissendorff, H., Esq., 19 Nadeschkinskaya, St. Petersburg, Russia.
1921. Wolff, N., Esq., 164 Columbia Heights, Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A.
1890. Wright, A. R., Esq., F.S.A., H.M. Patent Office, 25 Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, W.C. 2.
1921. Yasagita, K., Esq., 262 Chomi, Kaga Cho, Ushigome, Tokyo, Japan, per Gordon & Gotch, 15 St. Bride St., E.C.
1917. Yettis, Major W. Perceval, Junior United Service Club, London, S.W. 1.

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1916. American Academy in Rome, Porta San Pancrazio, Rome, Italy, per A. W. Van Burren, Esq.
1917. American Museum of Natural History, 77th Street and Central Park West, New York, U.S.A., per Fred. H. Smyth, Esq.
1891. Amsterdam, The University Library of, per Kirberger & Kesper, Booksellers, Amsterdam.
1879. Antiquaries, The Society of, Burlington House, W.
1905. Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1 Park Street, Calcutta, per B. Quaritch, 11 Grafton, Street, W.
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1908. Bishopsgate Institute, Bishopsgate St. Without, E.C., per C. W. F. Goss, Esq., Librarian.

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1911. Fulham Public Library, Fulham Rd., S.W., per W. S. Rae, Esq., Librarian.
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1902. Gloucester Public Library, Gloucester, per Roland Austin, Esq.
1878. Göttingen University Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St., Covent Garden, W.C.
1905. Grand Rapids Public Library, per F. W. Faxon Co., 83 Francis St., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1892. Guildhall Library, E.C., per Bernard Kettle, Esq., Librarian.
1898. Guille-Allès Library, Guernsey, B. Rowsell, Esq., Librarian.
1922. Haase & Son, P., 8 Lovstrade, Copenhagen.
1878. Harvard College Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., W.C.
1921. Hebrew Union College Library, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A., per A. S. Oko, Esq., Librarian.
1904. Helsingfors University Library.
1904. Hiersemann, K., 3 Königstrasse, Leipzig.
1919. Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, S.E., c/o Dr. H. S. Harrison (Stores and Contracts Committee L.C.C., 31 Clerkenwell Close, E.C. 1).
1896. Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, U.S.A., per W. Beer, Esq.
1902. Hull Public Libraries, per W. F. Lawton, Esq.
1911. Illinois University Library, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1892. Imperial University Library, St. Petersburg, per G. Routledge & Sons, Broadway Ho., Carter Lane, E.C.



1895. India Office Library, Whitehall, S.W., per F. W. Thomas, Esq.  
 1919. Indiana University Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co.  
 1899. Iowa State Library, Des Moines, Iowa, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.  
 1922. James Jerome Reference Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C. 2.  
 1904. Jersey City Free Public Library, New Jersey, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.  
 1922. Johannesburg Council of Education, School of Mines Building, Eloff St., Johannesburg, S. Africa, per Wheldon & Wesley, 2, 3 and 4 Arthur St., New Oxford St., W.C. 2.  
 1895. John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester, per The Librarian.  
 1879. Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.  
 1911. Kansas Public Library, Kansas City, Mo., U.S.A., per Mr. Purd. B. Wright, Librarian.  
 1905. Kensington Public Libraries, per H. Jones, Esq., Central Library, Kensington, W.  
 1919. Kristiania University Library, per Cammermeyers Boghandel, Kristiania.  
 1921. Lehmann & Stage, Loestraede, Copenhagen, per W. H. Dawson & Co.  
 1892. Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, per J. A. Hopps, Esq., 25 Friar Lane, Leicester.  
 1903. Leland Stanford Junior University Library, Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.  
 1885. Library of the Supreme Council of the 33°, etc., 10 Duke Street, St. James', S.W., per J. C. F. Tower, Esq., Secretary.  
 1899. Liverpool Free Public Library, per Peter Cowell, Esq., Chief Librarian, William Brown St., Liverpool.  
 1879. London Library, St. James's Square, S.W.  
 1904. Los Angeles Public Library, California, U.S.A., per E. Steiger & Co., New York.  
 1910. Lund University Library, per Karl af Petersens, Librarian.  
 1917. M'Gill University Library, Montreal, Quebec, per International News Co., 5 Bream's Buildings, W.C. 2.  
 1913. Malvern Public Library, per The Librarian, Graham Road, Malvern.  
 1919. Manchester College, Oxford, per the Librarian.  
 1878. Manchester Free Library, King St., Manchester.  
 1921. Manchester Victoria University, Manchester, per C. Leigh, Esq., Librarian.  
 1897. Max, J., & Co., 21 Schweidnitzerstrasse, Breslau.  
 1904. Mercantile Library of St. Louis, U.S.A., per F. W. Faxon Co., 83 Francis St., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.  
 1893. Meyrick Library, Jesus College, Oxford, per E. E. Genner, Esq., Librarian.

1902. Michigan State Library, Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A., per F. W. Faxon Co., 83 Francis St., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1907. Michigan University Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.
1881. Middlesborough Free Library, per Baker Hudson, Esq.
1919. Milan Royal National Library, per Simpkin, Marshall & Co.
1905. Minneapolis Athenæum Library, per F. W. Faxon Co., 83 Francis St., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1894. Minnesota, University of, Minneapolis, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1878. Mitchell Library, North St., Glasgow, c/o S. A. Pitt, Esq., Librarian (per J. D. Borthwick, Esq., City Chamberlain).
1880. Munich Royal Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St., W.C.
1909. Museo di Etnographia Italiana, Palazzo Delle Scuole, Piazza D'Armi, Rome, Italy, per Dr. Giovanni Ferri, 54 Via Crescenzio, Rome.
1904. Nancy, Université de, Nancy, France, per M. Paul Perdrizet.
1920. National Liberal Club, Victoria St., S.W. 1 (Gladstone Library).
1908. Nebraska University Library, Lincoln, Nebraska, U.S.A., per Simpkin, Marshall & Co, Paternoster Row, E.C.4.
1898. Newark Free Public Library, New Jersey, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1888. Newberry Library, Chicago, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1879. Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle-on-Tyne, per H. Richardson, Esq.
1898. New Jersey Free Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1898. New Jersey, The College of, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
1894. New York, College of the City of, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1898. New York Public Library (Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation), per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1894. New York State Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1920. Noording Librarie K. L., Groningen, Holland, per W. Dawson & Sona.
1913. Nordiska, Museet, Stockholm, 14, Sweden, per Visen Lewin, Esq.
1911. North Staffordshire Field Club, per J. R. Masefield, Esq., Roxhill, Chesdale, Staffs.
1908. North Western University Library, Evanston, Ill., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1883. Nottingham Free Public Library, per J. E. Bryan, Esq., St. Peter's Churchside, Nottingham.
1922. Ottawa Geological Survey, Ottawa, Canada, per Librarian.
1894. Oxford and Cambridge Club, per Jones, Yarell & Co., 19 Ryder Street, St. James', S.W. 1.
1881. Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.

1921. Pennsylvania University Library, Pa., U.S.A., per Geo. Harding, 64 Great Russell St., W.C.
1909. Pennsylvania University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A., per G. E. Stochert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1920. Penzance Library, Morral Gardens, Penzance, per O. M. Symons, Esq.
1894. Peorio, Public Library of.
1899. Philadelphia, Free Library of, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1881. Philadelphia, The Library Company of, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1922. Philippines University Library, Manila, Philippine Islands, per Wheldon & Wesley, 2, 3, & 4 Arthur St., New Oxford St., W.C. 2.
1879. Plymouth Institution and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society.
1894. Providence Public Library, per G. E. Stochert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1920. Punjab University Library, Lahore, India, per Bowes & Bowes, 1 Trinity St., Cambridge.
1900. Reading Free Public Library, per W. H. Greenhough, Esq.
1923. Rennes University Library, per A. Picard, 82 Rue Bonaparte, Paris, 1<sup>re</sup>.
1894. Rührscheld, L., Buchhandlung, Am Hof, 28, Bonn, Germany.
1908. Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, per W. H. Everett & Son, 11 St. Bride St., E.C.
1894. Royal Irish Academy, per Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104 Grafton St., Dublin.
1898. Salford Public Library, Manchester.
1907. Seattle Public Library, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, S.W.
1899. Sheffield Free Public Library, Surrey St., Sheffield, per S. Smith, Esq.
1898. Signet Library, Edinburgh, per John Minto, Esq., Librarian.
1905. Sion College Library, Victoria Embankment, E.C., per C. E. Thomas, Esq., Secretary.
1913. Société Jersiaise, per J. F. Guiton, Esq., 9 Pier Road., St. Heliers, Jersey.
1879. Stockholm, Royal Library of, per W. H. Dawson & Sons, St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E.C.
1922. Strasbourg University Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 12 and 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C. 2.
1916. Stretford Urban District Council Library, Old Trafford, Manchester, per G. H. Abrahams, Esq.
1903. Sunderland Public Library, Borough Road, Sunderland, per Borough Treasurer.
1894. Surgeon General Office Library, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., per Truslove & Hanson, 153 Oxford St., W.
1908. Swarthmore College Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1881. Sydney Free Public Library, per Truslove & Hanson, 153 Oxford St., W.

1895. Tate Library, University College, Liverpool, care of J. Sampson, Esq.  
 1883. Taylor Institution, Oxford, per Parker & Co., Broad Street, Oxford.  
 1906. Texas, University of, Austin, Texas, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.  
 1898. Toronto Public Library, per W. Dawson & Sons,  
 1899. Toronto University Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 12 and 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C. 2.  
 1879. Torquay Natural History Society, per Geo. Lee, Esq., Curator, The Museum, Torquay.  
 1900. Tottenham Public Library, Tottenham, per the Librarian.  
 1921. Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, per Maggs Brothers, 34 and 35 Conduit St., W.  
 1921. University of London, S. Kensington, S.W., per R. A. Rye, Esq., Librarian.  
 1899. Upsala University Library, per C. J. Lundström, Upsala, Sweden.  
 1895. Van Stockum, W. P., & Son, 36 Buitenhof, The Hague, Holland.  
 1899. Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.  
 1921. Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa, Canada, per E. Sapir, Esq.  
 1907. Victoria Public Library, Melbourne, per H. Sotheran & Co., 43 Piccadilly, W. 1.  
 1909. Vienna Imperial Court Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St., W.C.  
 1901. Vienna Imperial University Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St., W.C.  
 1910. Washington Public Library, D.C., Washington, U.S.A., per G. F. Bowerman, Esq., Secretary.  
 1910. Washington University Library, St. Louis, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.  
 1890. Watkinson Library, Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.  
 1898. Weimar Grand Ducal Library, per Dr. P. von Bojanowsky.  
 1915. Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 54a Wigmore St., W.  
 1916. Wellesley College Library, Wellesley, Mass., U.S.A., per H. Sotheran & Co., 140 Strand, W.C.  
 1907. Wesleyan University, Library of, Middletown, Connecticut, U.S.A., per W. J. James, Esq., Librarian.  
 1920. Wigan Public Library, Rodney St., Wigan, per the Librarian.  
 1898. Wisconsin State Historical Society, per H. Sotheran & Co., 140 Strand, W.C.  
 1908. Woolwich Free Library, William St., Woolwich, per P. C. Bursall, Esq., Chief Librarian.  
 1905. Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.

# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

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**WEDNESDAY, APRIL 18th, 1923.**

THE PRESIDENT (MR. H. BALFOUR) IN THE CHAIR.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Col. W. A. Carline as a member of the Society was announced. The enrolment as a subscriber of the Rennes University Library was also announced.

Mr. Wright exhibited a picture by M. Woodward, dated 1790, illustrating a Plough Monday Scene. The Chairman thanked Mr. Wright for exhibiting the picture and expressed the hope that other members of the Society would exhibit drawings or paintings illustrative of Calendar Customs.

Prof. W. R. Halliday read a paper entitled "Some Notes upon the Indo-European Group of Folk Tales and their Diffusion," and in the discussion which followed the Chairman, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Wright, Miss Hull and Mrs. Banks took part.

The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Prof. Halliday for his paper.

**WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25th, 1923.**

THE PRESIDENT (MR. H. BALFOUR) IN THE CHAIR.

THE President introduced Miss Thyra de-Kleen, who read a paper on " Bali Ritual and Dances " which was profusely illustrated by lantern slides.

In the discussion which followed the President, Dr. Thomas, Mr. C. J. Tabor, Mr. C. O. Blagden and Mr. Rothenstein took part.

Dr. Hildburgh exhibited and presented to the Society a Guild Sign from Munich.

The Meeting terminated with votes of thanks to Miss de Kleen for her paper and to Dr. Hildburgh for his gift to the Society.

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 16th, 1923.**

THE PRESIDENT (MR. H. BALFOUR) IN THE CHAIR.

THE Minutes of the Meetings held on April 18th and April 25th were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. John Anderson, Miss E. B. Pitman and Dr. Singer as members of the Society was announced; the resignation of Mr. R. Jaschke and the withdrawal of the subscription of the Library of the College of the City of New York were also announced.

Mrs. A. Kellgrin Cyriax read a paper entitled " Swedish Christmas Customs," which was followed by a demonstration of Swedish National Dances: and Miss Lowenadler sang some Swedish Folk Songs.

At the conclusion of the Meeting a hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. Cyriax and the several performers was proposed by the Chairman, seconded by Dr. Gaster, and carried with acclamation.

## ESTONIAN FOLKLORE,

BY DR. OSKAR TH. KALLAS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—The Folklore Society has done me the great honour of permitting me to deliver to the present gathering of explorers and lovers of folklore an address on Estonian Folklore.

My thanks for this opportunity are the more hearty as history has hitherto only seldom permitted us—a newcomer in the family of nations—to express ourselves in the presence of those nations with an older civilisation.

Despite the saying "*ex oriente lux*," the English people, I fear, sees the new Eastern States but dimly, if they are at all visible to you in the West, and I welcome this opportunity of saying to you "*et hic dii sunt*." We also do not live by bread alone, but also by the Word; we also set a value on spiritual strivings, even though for long periods these strivings of ours could be best compared with the man in the fairy tale, who wished to run but was hindered by two heavy weights tied to his feet. We hope, however, that the time of this evil tale is over for ever.

The products of the soul of the people and spiritual creations were for us not merely a pastime but for many centuries formed our spiritual food, the lack of which was great—they were our comfort, helping us to keep upright in times of stress. A folk-song says:—My heart grieves, my eyes weep, my tongue singeth.

Folklorists—and I must express my gratitude—were the first friends and the first to interest themselves in my

people, whose friends were so few and who in its solitude remained unknown.

The first bridges to the Finns, our relatives and neighbours, from whom Czarist Russia did its utmost to keep us apart, were built by means of folklore and philology—and I doubt whether in the absence of these friendly, mutual advances, the thousands of volunteers, who in 1918 helped us to drive the Bolsheviks back to Russia, would have been forthcoming from that country. That folklore was the means of procuring at the same time the aid of the British Navy is perhaps too bold a statement, even for the present speaker, though folklore had long ago proved the first connection between the two countries.

Already in 1698 we were mentioned by Jodocus Crull in his *Antient and Present State of Muscovy*, and in 1795 a book called *Popular Poetry* was published in London, containing twelve specimens of our lyric poetry.

Latham in his *Nationalities of Europe*, published in 1863, included fourteen of our folk-songs, while W. F. Kirby in his *The Hero of Estonia* (1895) published close on 700 pages of Estonian fairy tales, and gave a summary of our popular epic *Kalevipoeg*. He was inspired thereto by his studies of the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*, to which our *Kalevipoeg* is closely related.

In this connection I wish to remember gratefully one, who though not a folklorist, was the first in England, perhaps the first non-Estonian anywhere to study the soul of our people and to introduce it into literature. This was Lady Eastlake, who in her *Livonian Tales*, published in 1846, represented the psychology of the Estonian peasant in the characters of her novels.

When I mention, in addition, that at the International Folklore Congress, which took place in London in 1891, an account was given of the progress made in the collection of folklore in Estonia, I believe I have mentioned the first



congress in England where my country was represented, though I hope it will not be the last.

Despite the fact that as I have shown, the Estonians' introduction to this country dates from the year 1698, I believe it is not wholly unnecessary if in 1923 I say a few words on the history of my people and on the conditions in which they have lived. When these are better known to you in their general outline, the possibility of understanding the character and the development of our heritage of folklore will be greater.

We know that the Estonians were already established in the country at the bend of the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Finland between the years 500 and 700 A.D. They had come there from the region of the middle Volga, leaving behind kindred tribes in Northern and Eastern Russia and Siberia. The latter have since been partly Russified, but are now partially awakening to the consciousness of their own nationality.

Of the peoples related to us in a philological sense, I will mention the Magyars but more especially the Finns, the language of the latter being easily understood in the older folk-songs.

Our language belongs to the Finno-Ugric group. The researches made during the past few decades tend to place this group near the Aryan family of languages.

Our civilisation or lack of civilisation was approximately of the same level as that attained by the peoples living around us; we tilled the land and traded mainly with the Scandinavian peoples during those intervals of mutual peace which alternated with the periods of piracy and raids carried out in search of plunder, a method of interchange of wares that Europe at one time seemed in danger of taking up seriously again, although in a more modern form.

In the thirteenth century, however, the German knights fell upon our country and with them began our decline.

In spite of fierce resistance for over a century, we were thrust deeper and deeper into slavery, a slavery characterised by writers of the period as the harshest in Europe. Countless agrarian revolutions obtained for us short breathing space; we belonged successively to Denmark, Poland, Sweden, or Russia, but in fact during the last few centuries we were a German aristocratic republic with an Estonian population under Russian rule. The last great War proved to be the opportunity of gaining our long-sought freedom, and five years ago, after bitter struggles with both Bolshevistic Russia and imperialistic Germany, we established ourselves as an independent Republic.

Coming to our religion, we brought over from our Volga dwelling-places the basic elements of our pagan beliefs as well as those of our folk poetry. In the thirteenth century we became Roman Catholics, in Luther's time Protestants, and in the middle of the nineteenth century about one-tenth of the population went over to the Greek Catholic Faith. As is probably the case in all changes of religion by the mass of the population, these outward conversions of our people did not much affect the inner faith, for they were the result of political pressure or connected with agrarian interests. The official church remained for a long time more or less strange to the masses—up to quite recent times the part played by it in the life of the people was chiefly that of a harsh judge, acting more on the principles of the Old Testament than on those of the New. A result of these cold relations between shepherd and flock was the survival of a dangerous competitor to the Christian Faith in the shape of the old heathen heritage. In other words, the old pagan beliefs were kept longer alive in mythology, superstitions and so on. The same happened to the other creations of the popular imagination.

For a long period there were really only two classes in our country—the enslaved Estonian-speaking peasant and the feudal German-speaking aristocracy. Hanging on

to the latter were those who wished to partake of a higher civilisation, and among those were not a few who had risen from the ranks of the peasants.

Russian became known in the country only during the last few decades and then mostly as an official language, which hardly penetrated into a single family circle.

To the privileged class, were they but inclined to benefit thereby, the doors of European culture were open. The rest were cut off from these advantages. A nation, however, needs spiritual food as greatly as it does material food. If the former be not forthcoming from without and from a normal intercourse with other nations, it must be created and tended from within. And here we have one of the reasons why our folklore formed so important a part of our daily life and touches on almost every phase of it.

A similar part is played by folklore in the life of the Latvians and Lithuanians with whom we have lived as neighbours under approximately the same historical conditions.

Were books with their novels and anecdotes hindered from penetrating to the masses, a substitute was found in fairy tales told by word of mouth in the winter evenings, in riddles propounded in company to test and sharpen the wit of one and all. The colder the official Church with its threats of a Hell hereafter, the nearer and warmer were the gods of the people's ancient Heaven—it being a general rule that a people will create a Heaven for itself.

A small portion of our people, the Setus—Greek-Orthodox and living in Russia (our country was seldom called Russia)—the language of whose church, Slavonic and Russian—had always remained alien to them, knew hardly more of the official church than that it contained beautiful pictures before which one had to light candles. About thirty years ago a certain Setu said to the present speaker, pithily if without due respect to the church—and I hope I may be pardoned for repeating his words—

"The priests and we are as the pigs and the sheep, the priests grunt and we bleat, we cannot understand each other."

But just because of this spiritual isolation, they have preserved the most wonderful old folk-songs. A maiden unable to sing her own numerous wedding-songs at her marriage has little chance of ever being wed—she is too uneducated ever to make a Setu happy. On the other hand, an old songstress Miko-Ode, who in 1903 sang for the folklorist Dr. Hurt no less than 20,720 lines of song—in eight syllable trochees—enjoyed the unbounded respect of her district.

Still higher among the Setus stands the reputation of those old women who have not yet lost the gift of song improvisation. Of this power a pleasant proof was given as recently as 1921 at the Great Festival of Song held in Helsingfors, where the President of the Republic of Finland was greeted by Setu songstresses in a burst of improvised song.

The rôle hitherto played by folklore, folk-song in particular, is now coming to an end, but a part of that rôle is still retained among the Setus, who, living under Russian rule and separated from the other Estonians, have not been able to follow the rapid development of modern civilisation in my country.

About three generations ago a forward movement swept through the Estonian people. Slavery had been abolished in 1819. The peasant bound hitherto to his closest surroundings—the manor to which he belonged—was given greater freedom of movement. In the sixties the procuring of land by purchase was opened to him.

The beginnings of a change in the social conditions of the entire country started with these reforms. The thirst for culture increased. The towns were invaded more and more by descendants of peasants. The wealthy farmer sent his children to school—practically one hundred per

cent. of the population can now both read and write, and four in every thousand are undergraduates; and when in 1885, a systematic Russification of the schools began, the result was not the substitution of Russian for German as the language of the cultured classes, but Estonian; the mother tongue of about ninety-three per cent. of the inhabitants underwent a profound development, and was raised to and transformed into a literary language. In 1918 the Estonian University of Dorpat, founded in 1632 by the Swedes, could be re-opened as a purely Estonian seat of learning. As the foremost compulsory foreign language taught in the schools, English has been introduced.

What connection is there, it may be asked, between the development of the last century and this evening's lecture? It is manifold. The numerous types of national costumes have either disappeared or are in course of disappearing since the penetration of factory wares into the rural districts. The various dialects are merging into a common form of speech since intercourse between districts has become easier, and are disappearing quickly under the growing influence of schools, books, and the newspapers which are now read in every family. The present-day child learns the old fairy-tales, not from the mouth of his grandmother, but by reading or being read to from books. The folk-song lives only in the memory of the older generation; the younger generation sing the modern songs taught in the schools. In the year 1888 the present writer, helped by another undergraduate, collected and wrote down about 16,000 lines of songs in the space of six weeks. Now barely twenty years later, scarcely 2,000 lines could be collected in the same district. In the Setu district, the alphabetic area made over by Russia, the folk-song still lives as an integral part of daily life, but here also the axe has been put to the root of the tree in the form of the schools and Sunday schools, which have been established there during the last five years.

The foregoing may sound dismal from the standpoint of the extreme folklorist, but to all interested in the development of a nation it cannot be otherwise than gratifying.

Still, comfort for both parties is to be found in the fact that the heritage of an older age has not been lost, for it has been energetically collected, and thus provides the material for the new phase of civilisation. The old national costumes and decorative patterns are being developed by our artists into a newer art; our modern poetry is fructified by contact with folksong; and many of our folk-melodies and bagpipe reels will be heard in revised form at the Festival of Song, to take place in the summer of 1923, to which no fewer than some 16,000 entries of singers and musicians have been received.

Our folklore is safely stored in museums and archives. At the moment their elders were in danger of forgetting it the children were ripe for its collection. The energy of the generation awakening to life sought an outlet. True, many doors were closed to us; our language was persecuted in the schools and forbidden often in the case of public lectures. But our folklore could absorb a part of the energy spoiling for work, and it concentrated upon the collection of a national treasure. This was something we ourselves had created, something that might prove a means to further creation, and something in the collection of which we were less than usually troubled by the Russian policemen.

Pioneers in the work of collecting appeared already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Under the influence of Herder a period of more intense activity set in at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which culminated in 1857 in the recovery of our national epic *Kalevipoeg* (the adventures of a giant hero).

The main work, however, was done in the eighties and nineties of the last century, the names of the Pastor,

Dr. Jakob Hurt, and later that of Pastor M. J. Eisen, being indelibly bound up with this period.

Over 1,000 collectors—mostly peasants, artisans, school children and elementary school teachers, with an odd undergraduate or so—assisted Dr. Hurt in the forming of his collections; their work was unpaid, only about a 1,000 roubles being at Hurt's disposal for the whole work. Pastor Eisen's helpers received as little, these also being recruited from the same classes. The collection of folk-melodies only, in which I myself had the good fortune to take a leading part, called for an expenditure of some 5,500 roubles; this had been raised by free contributions, for the work in this case was more complicated, demanding frequent journeys of the seventy-five fully-qualified workers who formed the staff, and a great amount of costly materials, such as phonographs, etc.

All in all—including all the variants—our collections comprise approximately 25,000 tales, 55,000 riddles, 60,000 magical formulæ, superstitions, etc., 65,000 proverbs, 70,000 numbers of epical, lyrical, and wedding songs, etc. (comprising about one and a half million eight-syllable trochaic lines), with 15,000 melodies. In addition, there are copious notes on rare and obsolete words in various dialects, idioms, etc.

What is now the value of these collections? Dr. Hurt characterises the significance and the inner meaning of his collection in words which I take the liberty of quoting:

"The collections provide an exhaustive and graphic chronicle of Estonian life, written, as it were, by the nation itself. The number of books on the historical literature of the Baltic Provinces may be very large, but all such works are either too short or too incomplete, and where this is not the case they deal mainly with the outward experiences of the people, such as wars and threats of war. The inner life, the works and manifestations of peace as well as the spiritual and ethical sides, are but lightly touched upon,

and too much is missing from the narrative. Here folklore steps into the breach and completes the tale. The historian is led into the house and home of the people, is shown the life and labour of the people, its strivings—he is led along all its straight and crooked paths, its virtues and faults are laid open to him, its joys and sorrows, its loves and its hate, its beliefs and hopes.

"The physiognomy of a people, the peculiar character that is the outcome of hundreds, nay, thousands of years of national life has settled itself down as a historic residue in the songs and sagas, proverbs and sayings, ceremonies and customs of the people in question. The wondrous creations of the spirit, the most secret folds of the heart, the most hidden functions of human life are here displayed naked and uncovered for all to see. Discernment and lack of discernment, wisdom and folly, gravity and humour all these have their witnesses here. And these witnesses are stern and unimpeachable—flattering no one and afraid of no one.

"The keenest investigator has but two eyes, two ears, and two hands, while here a thousand eyes, a thousand ears, a thousand hands have built up the edifice. A scholar always stands more or less distant from the people. The assistants who have worked in the collection of this material live in its midst and are of the people themselves."

The most complete and most valuable part of the collection is the one containing the old folk-songs. Most are in metre in the eight-syllable trochaic line (familiar I suppose to the English public through Longfellow's *Hiawatha*, the form of which follows that of the *Kalevala*). The ideas run in parallelisms as in the Psalms; the alliterative form of the language is the well-known form of Finno-Estonian song, and is often bound up with the melody. They cover the distance from the dimmest early mythological times to the beginning of the last century. The final tidemark of these epic songs in modern times is a song dealing with the Napoleonic invasion and war of 1812.



The majority of the collected runes, as the old Finnish and Estonian songs are also called, treat the manifestations and happenings of peasant-life, and the revelations of the human heart. They lead the listener through the whole life story of the Estonian, from cradle to funeral bier. Particularly numerous are the wedding-songs; deepest in sentiment the orphan-songs, as in general all songs of an elegaic nature. Love-songs, usually the most prolific in folk-poetry and those in which the warmest and finest notes are struck, are conspicuous by their relative rarity. In the Estonian such songs are overshadowed by the other varieties. Not that love is wanting in the Estonian breast, being found here as elsewhere, but that there is none of the romanticism of love. The Estonian is sober in this as in other respects—a calm rational reflecting spirit—and thus in the field of love he is no dreamer, no knight of romance, but a realist and a naturalist. As a result, Estonian songs of this description deal mostly with married love and fidelity or with sensual erotics.

Characteristic of the Setus are their dirges (the Greek *threnoi*) which are entirely missing among the other Estonians. They vary according to the manner of death, age, occupation, status or family of the deceased, varying also in metre.

The fairy-tales disclose a world of feeling and imagination. Some contain valuable mythological data, while others illustrate family life or the relations existing between the various callings and classes.

The Sagas, particularly local sagas, often have historical reminiscences hidden under their cloak of poetry or fancy, and cast beams of light into the darkness of antiquity. The legends are closely allied to similar products of Christian folk-poetry in other European countries. Of special interest are the proverbs, as is the case with those of other peoples. They offer a pithy, apt and graphic quintessence

of popular wit and wisdom and are a keen character study in animated colours, a complete code of popular ethics and knowledge of life in pocket size.

The names of localities, often difficult to determine, none the less often afford the student of history extremely useful material. Their linguistic value is undoubted. The material collected concerning ceremonies and customs, children's games and popular sports is so comprehensive that a whole gallery of pictures of Estonian popular life could be derived from it.

Still more comprehensive is the material on popular beliefs and superstitions, and if popular methods of healing, magical remedies, magical songs, and formulæ be added, the mass of material is truly gigantic.

The systematic indication of all the details ensures not only the genuine character of the items collected and their pure, perfectly natural colouring, but provides, by means of the countless variations of dialect and repetitions, a rare and valuable mass of linguistic material, for a deeper study of the Estonian language and its dialects, and will undoubtedly be the means of enriching both its grammar and vocabulary.

Add to these Estonian collections those of the Finns,<sup>1</sup> in no wise smaller than ours and connected so closely, both in language and contents, that one can actually speak of them as forming a single group—add these and we have folkloristic material enough to furnish scholars with work for many years to come.

Here, however, before the poetic material of this folklore can be opened up to wider circles of explorers, a problem of an unpleasing prosaic nature must first be solved. The question was broached already by W. F. Kirby, at the International Folklore Congress held in London in 1891,

<sup>1</sup> The Finns possess approximately 30,000 tales, 50,000 old songs (epical, lyrical, magical), 70,000 new songs (lyrical), 75,000 superstitions, 150,000 proverbs, 70,000 riddles, 18,000 melodies, 5000 games.

in the words: "But now comes a question that is easier asked than answered. How can such enormous collections of folklore material, scientifically valuable, but commercially almost unsaleable, ever be arranged and published?"

A modest beginning in the publication of our folklore was made by Dr. Hurt, under the title *Monumenta Estoniæ Antiquæ*, an enterprise which we have been attempting to carry on since his death.

Unfortunately, in this unpoetical world Pegasus must wait while the horses for the artillery are fed, and at present we are in the midst of paying the bills for fodder supplied to our war horses.

I venture to express the hope that means will be found to publish in an anthology in English garb the best of our folklore, either by the direct aid of the Folklore Society, or by some other means which can be suggested. We, on our part, would be only too happy and too willing to prepare such an anthology, and it will be our wish and our pride to offer to the English reader only the best and choicest in our folklore. I am persuaded that, contrary to Mr. Kirby's gloomy forecast, such an anthology would not only prove saleable but would be eagerly taken up by all those who take an interest in primitive poetry and original imagery. A love and a taste for the latter is now growing apace.

In a few rough outlines, I have attempted to sketch for this meeting the main features of our work in the collection of our folklore. I may be permitted to add a few remarks on the scientific investigation of this material and on its probable significance, specially for the Teutonic nations. I hope you will not jump to the conclusion that this lecture is going to grow into one of the so-called "unending fairy-tales," with which the Estonian fishermen kept themselves awake night after night. I will promise to be as brief as possible.

Finland was already in 1908 in the position to establish one Chair for folklore at its University, and two personnel Chairs in 1918 and 1922. Our own University of Tartu (Dorpat) worked under conditions particularly unfavourable to all studies of a national character, and not until its reorganisation in 1918 was it able to follow Finland's example and establish two similar Chairs.

The scientific principles on which Finno-Estonian material were to be studied, were established by the Helsingfors Professor, Julius Krohn, and further developed by his son and successor, Kaarle Krohn.

The so-called geographic-historic method, in which special attention is paid to the geographic aspect of the problem, was evolved characteristically enough on Finnish soil. The preliminary conditions needed are: the existence of numerous variants, handed on chiefly orally from generation to generation or from neighbour to neighbour, with a more or less exact indication of the localities where the variants were found.

The variants are arranged geographically, after which the analysis of any particular theme can be begun feature by feature. This method has been used successfully particularly in the study of songs and fairy-tales, and is gradually being adopted among others besides Finno-Estonians.

One of the most interesting objects of study was the Finnish national epic, *Kalevala*. The research of Finnish scholars, and I wish especially to mention the Professors Krohn, has led to the splitting up of this mighty complex poem into single themes, showing line by line how they had originated in West Finland, in Carelia, and even in Estonia; and how the individual songs in their wanderings from village to village became altered and developed until, in the hands of Carelian singers, they were linked into larger complexes, in which Estonian and West-Finnish songs were joined. The final composition into one mighty

whole, *The Kalevala*, was made by Dr. Med. Lönnrot, as in the case of our *Kalevipoeg* by Dr. Med. Kreutzwald. The development was probably the same—to quote W. F. Kirby—"as the manner in which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* grew up among the Greeks before these poems were edited in the form in which they have come down to us, by order of Peisistratos."

The idea of a great epic created as a whole by a people was here overthrown; such folk-epics do not exist. A similar fate has overtaken also beautiful magical formulæ hitherto believed to be of primitive origin; they were on close investigation proved to be products of the Roman Catholic Middle Ages, or Roman Catholic Saints transformed by the people into Pagan Gods.

The investigation of Finnish scholars is now extending the field of its operations into the territories of its neighbours, those especially favoured being the Teutonic nations, the Scandinavians, Germans, and Saxons, the link connecting the folklore which passed via North-Germany between England and Estonia.

Finno-Estonian folklore, including that of Lapland, is of special importance from this point of view, as was shown lately by Professor Kaarle Krohn in his lectures on Scandinavian mythology in Upsala, 1921. Briefly, a number of archaic Teutonic ideas are preserved in this folklore, among them many long forgotten by the respective Teutonic peoples themselves. In a geological sense the Teutonic peoples have deposited here an older layer of their culture.

When, some twelve or fourteen centuries ago, we arrived on our present Baltic site, we came into touch with Teutonic nations, taking over from them or partly exchanging not only expressions of a higher culture, but also other products of the human spirit: deities, magical formulæ, riddles, proverbs, wedding ceremonies—shortly, everything we group under the heading folklore.

The progress of the Teutonic peoples towards civilisation was more rapid than ours, with the result that they have forgotten the greatest part of this heritage of their ancestors. Historic reasons prevented us from keeping pace with them; we preserved much longer not only our heritage from the Volga district, but also the material borrowed from our Teutonic neighbours, further enriching the latter with our own children of fancies.

At the present time, now that nearly all this material has been carefully collected, not only in our case, but at least with regard to mythology also in the case of the Volga-Finns and the Finnish tribes in Siberia, it is in some measure possible by careful comparison to decide the original source of many ideas, and particularly to mark out those borrowed from the Teutonic peoples.

The English, I would venture to say, in so far as they are descendants of the Teutonic race, can never with sufficient thoroughness and accuracy account for their past, particularly that part disclosed by mythology, unless they call in the assistance of our Finno-Estonian folklore.

We are more than willing to place at your disposal what is common to us both. Loans of this category are repaid with a good deal less trouble than, for instance, modern war loans.

And to conclude in the metaphorical key struck by the last sentence, the opportunity would be willingly accepted by us, to add by this means our humble mite to the great international capital of civilisation, the use of which was in great measure opened up to us by representatives of these same Teutonic nations.

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## NOTES UPON INDO-EUROPEAN FOLK-TALES AND THE PROBLEM OF THEIR DIFFUSION.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

POPULAR stories fall naturally into three divisions—myths, legends, and tales which are told primarily for amusement. In individual cases there may of course be overlapping. A fragment of popular fiction very often becomes attached to an historical person and so becomes incorporated in that perverted history which we call legend or tradition, or it may be turned into that kind of *Just So Story* which we call myth. But the three *genera* are in themselves distinguishable, and it is with the third, viz. stories told primarily for amusement, including fables, drolls, and *maerchen*, but excluding myths and legends, with which I shall be concerned this evening.

If the folk-tales of the world, using the word folk-tale in this sense, are considered, it can hardly be questioned that Indo-European stories fall into a single group. In general character they are recognisably different from the tales of the Lower Culture in other parts of the world. There may be similarities in respect of certain basic ideas, such as, for example, the belief in an external soul, but the stories as stories are quite different and have a different atmosphere. Indeed it is noticeable how rapidly and completely Indo-European stories become distorted in character where they have been diffused outside the main area to which they belong. I am thinking, for example, of variants which have been thrown off southwards along the line of Arabic influence in Africa, e.g. in Zanzibar or among the Ba Ronga.

The homogeneity of this group of stories goes deeper than their general character. There is in fact a common stock of incidents and plots. This fact was first firmly established by Cosquin in his *Contes Populaires de Lorraine*. In 1892 Jacobs wrote "the nucleus in every European land, which is common to all, includes from 30 to 50 per cent., and it is this common stock of Europe that I regard as coming from India mainly at the time of the Crusades and chiefly by oral transmission. It includes all the beast tales and most of the drolls, but evidence is still lacking about the more serious fairy-tales, though it is increasing with every fresh collection of folk-tales in India."<sup>1</sup> Since 1892 the prophecy of the last sentence has been fulfilled mainly through members of this Society, among whom the present Editor of *Folk-Lore*, Dr. William Crooke, deserves peculiar mention. This new material has in part been analysed by the patient industry of Cosquin, whose most important contributions to the study of folk-tales since the publication of *Contes Populaires de Lorraine* have now been issued in two posthumous volumes.<sup>2</sup> The thesis of these, as of the earlier work, is that India is the great reservoir from which all European folk-tales in their present form are derived. It will appear later that I am unable to accept in its entirety the view put forward by my old friend, but he has shown, incontestably in my opinion, that the proportion of the stock which is common to East and West, particularly with regard to "the more serious fairy-tales," is very much larger than was admitted by Jacobs. He has also shown that, in the case of some stories, not only are the same combinations of incidents to be found in India and Europe, but identical variant forms of these combinations are common both to the East and to the West. Throughout, the homogeneity of the common stock is firmly based not upon a general or vague

<sup>1</sup> Jacobs, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> *Études Folkloriques* and *Les Contes Indiens et l'Occident*.



similarity of ideas, but upon the repetition of incidents and combinations of incidents which persists through a certain variation of local colour imposed by national differences and peculiarities, in other words upon identity of plot.

Hitherto it has been tacitly assumed that within the Indo-European area folk-tales have been invented in some particular place and thence diffused. I do not think that anyone who has been called upon to study or annotate folk-tales in detail will be likely to dispute this view, but, thanks to the genius of Andrew Lang, the theory of the spontaneous and independent generation of the same story in different areas has still a certain exoteric popularity. It may, therefore, be worth while to spend a few moments upon the examination of it.

Three assumptions are commonly involved in this view. Firstly, it is suggested that the general resemblances of the folk-tales of different countries point to coincidence and independent invention. Secondly, and associated with the first assumption, is the sentimentally attractive thesis that folk-tales were not invented by individuals, but in some unexplained and incomprehensible way were made by the folk. Like Topsy they grew.

Thirdly, it is often assumed that in the areas in which they are at present found they are of ageless antiquity, and are, therefore, evidence for the habits of the primitive ancestors of the people who tell them. Of these three assumptions the first and second are certainly untrue, and the third is in consequence extremely improbable.

The genesis of the coincidence theory is in part to be found in the anthropological preoccupation of the time when Lang put it forward. Anthropology in general, under the stimulus of Tylor's great work, was working upon general similarities, ignoring the context of its data in time and space, paying little attention to the detail of that data, and, in the quest of apparent similarities, was neglecting too often essential differences.

Nor had Lang himself the judicial temperament. In challenging the Aryan theory he had nailed the flag of "no single origin" to his gallant mast. Once his loyalty was attached to any cause he became a whole-hearted though supremely honourable partizan.

The theory of independent and spontaneous invention, however, although it may account for similarity in general ideas and in particular the resemblances between primitive cosmological stories, where similar and obvious stimuli may well have produced similar reactions in similar minds, does not stand the test of examination when identity in the detailed structure of stories is in question. Let me illustrate my meaning by examples. The idea of a dead lover returning for his bride and riding off with her to the grave door is one which, it is not impossible to conceive, might have occurred independently in more than one country. But when it is observed that in 46 out of 58 variants recorded in a continuous chain of countries from Russia to Iceland, the horseman says "the moon shines bright, swift ride the dead, Love, art thou not afraid?" and the maiden replies "I am not afraid while I am with thee," it becomes impossible to suppose that this particular detail should have occurred independently in the various different places. The story, in fact, is almost certainly of Slavonic origin and has passed to Iceland by diffusion.<sup>1</sup>

The idea of a skilled archer shooting an apple off a boy's head might easily occur to people anywhere, and, as Child remarks, "it will scarcely be maintained that the Mississippi keel-boatmen shot at apples in imitation of William Tell."<sup>2</sup> In consequence, we cannot say that the story in Persian literature of the twelfth century of a Shah who shot an apple off his favourite's head is the William Tell story. It may be a degenerate version, it may be just a coincidence. But

<sup>1</sup> See Child, *Popular Ballads of England and Scotland*, v. No. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Child, *op. cit.* iii. pp. 14 foll.

the well-known story distributed throughout Teutonic and Scandinavian countries in which (1) the hero is compelled to shoot at an apple on his son's head by a tyrant; and (2) meditating revenge reserves a second shaft in case of accidents, can hardly have been invented more than once.

Again, the idea of the champions endowed with marvellous and special abilities is natural enough and might quite easily arise independently in different countries. One need not suppose any link except coincidence between Jason's companions, Herakles the strong, Polydeukes the boxer, the sons of Boreas who fly like the wind, Lynkeus of the keen sight, and the similar champions of King Arthur's court, who are enumerated in the Red Book of Hergest.<sup>1</sup> But the plots of the two main folk-tales about the champions, viz. (1) How the champions rescued the princess, which is to marry her? and (2) the story of the hero of the magic ship and his champions, who successfully perform the tasks, defeat the king's attempt to roast them alive in an iron chamber, and annihilate forces sent in their pursuit—these plots, both of which are distributed throughout the Indo-European area, can surely only have been invented once.

Again, as Cosquin was the first to point out, the formula of the recovery of Aladdin's ring, by the cat catching a rat and forcing it to put its tail up the nose of the sleeping villain, could not possibly have occurred by coincidence independently to all the peoples of the various countries from east to west of the Indo-European area in which it is found.

The belief that the designs of peasant art are in some way the product not of individuals but of the folk persists, I think, mainly because of the sentimental attraction which it has for some minds. It is the same sentimentality, which has led to the popular exaggeration of the æsthetic merits of the products of peasant art, which in almost

<sup>1</sup> Guest, *Mabinogion*, "Killwyth and Olwen."

every field are habitually overestimated. The doctrine of creation by the folk has derived some support from the theories of collective mentality put forward by a well-known French school of sociologists. These it is clearly impossible to discuss here and now, but, whatever its influence may or may not have been upon the development of social institutions, it is difficult to see how collective mentality can be capable of becoming positively articulate in the invention of a design. For, in fact, our stories are a series of incidents arranged in a logical or interesting series. An artistic pattern, I venture to submit, can only be created consciously by an individual intellect.

In fact, an unbiased examination of any peasant art will show that the real effect of the activities of the folk is to weaken or distort the patterns with which they start. The folk modify it is true, but on the whole for the worse. The pattern is literally rather than intelligently followed, fragments of different designs may be inharmoniously combined, and detail will be misunderstood, become atrophied, and disappear.

Anyone who visited the exhibition of Greek embroideries at Burlington House some years ago must have been struck with an ocular demonstration of the artistic poverty of peasant art when seen in the mass. In particular, the gradual degeneration of noble Venetian designs into conventional patterns of harmonious colour but meaningless design was very noticeable.

The same tendency is to be observed in folk literature as handed down by oral tradition. The amount of invention or original creation is negligible. So far as a new story is made, it is made by combining clichés belonging to originally different stories. Certainly this is true of poetical improvisation as I am familiar with it. In Crete the art is popular, and dexterity therein an accomplishment much admired. But, in fact, the improvised poetry has not a spark of originality or invention about it. It is the most

conventional of tricks, a stringing together of conventional tags. My friend Mr. Thompson has thus recorded his similar experience of the methods of Eva Gray, a noted story-teller among the English Gypsies. She told him that she "had made up a brand new tale. 'I made it up myself from beginning to end.' What she had done I discovered was to invent a new plot, using incidents from *maerchen* she already knew."<sup>1</sup>

This form of originality is often disastrous to stories. In order to make new stories, or even more frequently through the illogical process of the association of ideas, incidents become wrongly, and in the latter case often very wrongly, combined. Further, inasmuch as the intellectual standard of story-teller and audience is low, criticism is not exacting. An incident often drops completely out or survives only in some foolish trace. Let me give an example. In a Gypsy story of *Fack the Robber*<sup>2</sup> the theme of Grimm No. 192, *The Master Thief*, is combined with others belonging to *Little Fairly* and the *Cobbler and the Calf*. The three tests of the *Master Thief*, it will be remembered, were (1) to steal the Count's horse which was guarded by a regiment of soldiers, (2) to steal the sheet when his wife and he had gone to bed, (3) to steal the Parson and the Sexton in a sack. Of these the third has dropped completely out in the Gypsy story. So has the second as an incident. It survives only in the incongruous and unnecessary presence of "sojers and armunition" in the bedroom of the squire and his wife.

Where the teller has forgotten an important incident, but is sufficiently intelligent to notice a gap, the patching is invariably clumsy. Thus, in the story of the *Six Champions*, it will be remembered that Archer enables Runner to waken and win the race by nicking him in the ear with an arrow, or by shooting away the horse's skull upon which he

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series, i. p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> *Groome, Gypsy Folktales*, pp. 48 and 205.

has pillowed his head. In a Welsh Gypsy version Archer is reduced to the unsportsmanlike expedient of shooting the rival competitor in the thigh. The teller no doubt remembered that Archer saved the situation but had forgotten how he did it.

In fact, good story-tellers are few. This is as true of the village bar as of the club smoking-room. In oral tradition bad story-tellers are spoiling stories all the time. How then is it that the shape of *maerchen* is as persistent as it is? Two reasons may perhaps be suggested. Firstly, the skill and ingenuity with which the originals have been constructed, and, secondly, the conservatism of popular art, which indeed does not attempt to be original but aims as a rule at correct and even slavish repetition.

The disintegrating tendency of oral tradition naturally explains the superior vitality of stories which have been given a literary form. Good stories, *i.e.* stories which are definitely constructed in a fixed form, will always tend to oust bad. The enormous influence exercised by Perrault's *Tales of Mother Goose*, or by the circulation in Europe of translations of *The Arabian Nights*, might be called as evidence. It may further be noted parenthetically that the influence of printed versions is not confined to the literate, as is shown by Dr. Sampson's gypsy, whose "Tačō yek'," *i.e.* "Safe 'un," was clearly derived from hearing some indifferent scholar read out a version of *Ali Baba* printed with the long "s" of eighteenth century typography.

The extent to which purely literary work may give rise to folklore is indeed often underestimated. I have elsewhere examined a curious example in which an oral legend collected in Asia Minor in the nineteenth century and a Byzantine carol are both demonstrably derived from a literary forgery of the eighth or ninth century after Christ, the *Life of St. Basil* by the Pseudo Amphilochius. This *Life* is not even a book of popular origin

but a laborious compilation of garbled documents.<sup>1</sup> Second only to the force of literature in giving permanent form and therefore vitality to stories is the art of the professional story-teller.

My personal opinion is that the folk-stories of Europe, as we know them, took their present form between the ninth and thirteenth centuries after Christ. I do not mean to imply that stories were not told before the ninth century, nor even that a number of stories now in circulation were not current earlier. But, speaking generally, I believe that it remains true that during those centuries a victorious invasion of Oriental stories took place. If it be asked why such an invasion was victorious, the answer perhaps would be that, firstly, the civilisation of Islam was at that period a higher civilisation, at any rate as regards things artistic and intellectual, than the civilisation of Christianity.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, that the art of story-telling had been highly developed in the East. That a long literary tradition had perfected the form of stories and had given them the permanence of literary record, while, further, the art of story-telling flourished as a profession in Oriental countries.

If we are right in supposing (a) that any particular story has been invented once and for all in some one place, and has thence been passed on, and that (b) the bulk of modern European folk-tales were introduced into Europe from abroad not earlier than the Middle Ages, it follows

<sup>1</sup> Halliday, "St. Basil and Julian the Apostate," *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vii. pp. 89-106.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Percy Sykes well remarks, "It would be well if Europeans, who are sometimes apt in ignorance to depreciate the East, would contrast the state of learning, of science, of literature, and of the arts among Moslems in this century with the deep darkness which then covered Europe. It is not too much to say that in all these departments of intellectual activity the East was incomparably superior to the then benighted West, and this continued true during a period of some five hundred years; for not until the twelfth century did Christendom cease to depend on the East for its light." Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii. p. 77.

that to use the incidents of folk-tales as evidence for the aboriginal habits or institutions of the people, who now tell them, is hazardous in the extreme. Are we, for example, to deduce the regular practice of cannibalism among the ancestors of modern Greeks and Albanians from the popularity of cannibal incidents, which is in fact very marked in stories recorded in the Eastern Mediterranean? Parenthetically too it may be noticed that fairy stories are not rigidly devoted to principles of realism, as is sometimes assumed, and the deliberately untrue or even fantastic has its place in an art whose object is to amuse.

The contention that European folk-tales took their present form in the Middle Ages cannot of course be upheld in respect of beast fables. The recent evidence of the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine, which demonstrates that the sayings of Ahikarewer, in literary circulation in the Mediterranean area in the sixth century B.C., confirms the view that the didactic beast fable had entered Europe from the East before the fifth century B.C. It does not of course decide that its original home was India. But beast fables apart, the coincidences between the popular stories of the classical world and the corpus of Indo-European folk-tales are relatively few. Some common stories of course there are, *s.g.* the tale of Polyphemus, but, generally speaking, and this is surely a fair test, the difference between modern collections of folk-tales from any two countries between India and Iceland would be found to be less than the difference of classical folk-tales from either. Oriental influence of course increased as classical civilisation grew older. As to the degree of fusion between East and West produced by the conquests of Alexander the Great I am inclined to be sceptical. Alexandria, not Alexander's men, provided the true link between East and West. In any case there can be no doubt that in the time of the Roman Empire ideas as well as goods were coming west from India. Fragments of oriental tales are to be



found in Strabo and Aelian, and the lore of Indian magic was popular with Apollonius of Tyana and similar mages. There is not, however, evidence of contact in classical times at all analogous to that which took place in the Middle Ages.

The essential aspect of the Middle Ages which is sometimes a little neglected in popular presentations of history, is that the continuous area, to which our folk-tales belong, was then dominated by two great civilisations, each of which was essentially an international society with a unity based upon a single common religion.<sup>1</sup> In both pilgrimage, the Haj and the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, promoted homogeneity. Further, these two great societies, the civilisations of which, to a degree which is sometimes forgotten, were homogeneous throughout their respective areas, were closely interlocked. The ballad cliché remembers that :

" the kynge of Spain is a foule paynim  
and leeveth on Mahound,"

while we forget that the name of sherry is plausibly derived from Shiraz.<sup>2</sup> Spain in fact was conquered by Islam in the eighth century and Sicily in the ninth.

The contact between Christendom and Islam was indeed close. The long series of the Saracen wars of Byzantium, which were seldom pressed a *l'outrance*, provided for a constant infiltration of Eastern influences, particularly as

<sup>1</sup> This essential unity of Christendom in an earlier age was longingly realised by Aeneas Sylvius in 1453. Of his own day he writes, " It is a body without an head ; a republic without laws or magistrates. The pope and the emperor may shine as lofty titles, as splendid images ; but they are unable to command, and none are willing to obey ; every state has a separate prince, and every prince has a separate interest. What eloquence could unite so many discordant and hostile powers under the same standard." Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (ed. Bury), vii. p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> See Sykes, *op. cit.* i. p. 7.

prisoners, upon either side, were often released or exchanged after considerable periods of not too stringent captivity. The Pilgrimage to Jerusalem brought representatives of the whole of Western Europe into the Levant,<sup>1</sup> and the Crusaders brought back with them to the West lessons learned in the East. I have sometimes suspected too that the Jews, dispersed throughout all European countries, may have helped to disseminate Oriental traditions. The compiler of the *Disciplina Clericalis* was, it will be remembered, a converted Jew.

The extent of this influence of the East upon the West provides a promising field of investigation which has by no means been worked out. As my friend the late F. W. Hasluck suggested, the whole question of the Romances of the Border Wars needs investigation from both sides, and the relation of the *Chanson de Roland* or of *Digenes Akritas* to *Siddi Battal* and other Oriental counterparts is worth looking into. It is even possible that western conceptions of chivalry owe something to Persian ideas; at least the possibility demands competent examination. That nearly all drolls, tales of intrigue and a smaller number of romantic themes, passed into Western Europe from Persian and Arabic translations or versions of Indian collections of stories during this period is of course well known and can be traced in literature.

But what about the stories which can not be traced in literary sources. Cosquin will have it that they too came all from India, and he has shown that a great number of them are extant in oral versions in Moslem India,

<sup>1</sup> "It is hard to realise how deep was the interest taken by Christendom in pilgrimages during the tenth century, and from what remote countries the pilgrims came. It is especially remarkable that in A.D. 987 two Icelanders appear on the scene, first-fruits of the conversion of the Norsemen with all its far-reaching consequences. In the eleventh century pilgrimages became common, even women taking part in them, and the interest of Christendom grew continually deeper." Sykes, *History of Persia*, II. p. 114.

which he regards as proof of Indian origin. I should be inclined to differ from him first of all in scepticism as to the probability of a one-sided transmission. *Prima facie* it would seem that where there is transmission there is likely to be transmission both ways. Again, when Cosquin has traced a story to the Middle East, he is too often satisfied that it must therefore be Indian. Thirdly, he does not recognise the possibility, which I should consider a probability, that a large number of modern Indian stories may have been brought there by Islam. The prevalence of Arabic words, *nasib*=fate, *ghul*, *fakir*, etc., in Indian stories would seem to support such a view. Cosquin's argument that the occurrence of words of Arabic origin in a definite story does not prove the Arabic origin of that particular story may be admitted,<sup>1</sup> but the general use of Arabic words in folk-tales over a considerable area must point to a strong general influence and make it probable that Northern India has many of its stories from an Arabic source.

My own view of the problem of the diffusion of folk-tales is that the most fruitful method of investigation might be to start with a working hypothesis of centres of distribution. Tentatively, those which I should suggest would be Celtic, Teutonic, Scandinavian, Slavonic, Arabo-Persian, and Indian. The evidence, as well as I am able to judge it, suggests that there are stories which have travelled eastwards from the west. Polyphemus, for example, which has been known in Europe since the days of Homer, if we accept a single Korean story from the far East, seems not to have got further than Persia and the area of the *Arabian Nights*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, I do not think that the allied group of stories represented by *The Robber Bridegroom*, *The Maid of the Mill* and *Fitschers Vogel*,

<sup>1</sup> See Cosquin, *Contes Indiens et l'Occident*, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Bolte und Polivka, iii. p. 378. No Indian version is known to them or to Hackman.

completely at home in Western and Northern Europe, are distributed further East than Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> Further, their more Eastern versions show a tendency to deformation which betrays the direction of their movement.

I should, however, agree so far with Cosquin that the oral tradition shows the main current set definitely from East to West. A possible reason for this direction of the current I have already suggested, viz. that Eastern stories were better constructed, and good stories tend to drive out the less good. Cosquin too is right, I am sure, in detecting two main routes: (1) *via* Asia Minor, Turkey, and the Balkan States; (2) *via* Egypt, North Africa, Sicily, and Spain. The reservoir from which these currents immediately flow are Persian and Arabic, the one the literary and the other the religious language of the Middle East.

The direction of this current is very plainly noticeable in the folk stories with which I am most familiar. Any student who is engaged upon elucidating modern Greek stories will find that most light is thrown by Turkish folk-tales. These, as Kunoz pointed out in the introduction to his German translation of the stories from Stambul,<sup>2</sup> are strongly influenced by Persian. I may mention here that puzzles which I was obliged to leave unsolved in Prof. Dawkins' Cappadocian stories<sup>3</sup> are nearly all cleared up by Lorimer's *Persian Tales* which were published subsequently.

There are numerous slight indications of Persian influence in Greek stories. I will mention two. The Arab or black ogre of Greek fairy stories is regularly described as having an upper lip which stretches to the heavens

<sup>1</sup> The one exception known to me is Steel-Temple, *Wideawake Stories*, No. 7, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Kunoz, *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul*, p. vii.

<sup>3</sup> Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*.

while his lower lip touches the earth. The connection with the literary commonplace for negro ugliness in Persian literature is obvious. Thus Sadi speaks of a slave, "who was a negro, and whose upper lip ascended above his nostrils, and whose lower lip hung down upon his collar. His form was such that the demon Sakhr would have fled at his appearance."<sup>1</sup>

In Greek folk-tales it is the regular thing for the king to be advised by his council of twelve (*δωδεκάδοξα*). This council corresponds to no historical fact in medieval Greek history, and no explanation so far as I know has been offered for its quite regular appearance in stories. D'Alessandri perhaps throws some light upon it. Of Persia in 1571 he writes, "The council is really one body in which the king is sole President, with the intervention of twelve sultans, men of long experience in affairs of state."<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the two channels, by North Africa and through Turkey respectively, I had quite independently come to the same conclusion as Cosquin, when working at the Cappadocian Tales. I found in practice that an admirable hunting-ground for the explanation of difficulties was the North African coast. For example, in a variant of *Catskén* I was puzzled by the heroine going into the lamp. The Moorish and Hausa versions cleared this up. In fact this form of the heroine disguise appears to have a restricted area of distribution, and its origin is probably the Middle East. In a Persian story<sup>3</sup> a jeweller makes a lampstand with a room inside it, in Cappadocia<sup>4</sup> the heroine goes into the lamp. Moorish<sup>5</sup> and Hausa<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gulistan of Sadi*, translated by Eastwick, cap. i. story xl. p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the XV and XVIth centuries*, trans. and ed. C. Grey, Hakluyt Society, 1873, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> Lorimer, *Persian Tales*, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, pp. 266, 313.

<sup>5</sup> *Folk-Lore*, xix. p. 443.

<sup>6</sup> *Folk-Lore*, xx. p. 375.

variants give a lantern, Albanian<sup>1</sup> a candlestick, and Italian<sup>2</sup> a candlestick or candelabrum. With regard to these latter less imaginable hiding places, is it too far-fetched to suggest a possible confusion from the kind of lantern used in Egypt, of which Lane gives an illustration,<sup>3</sup> which was called *kandeel*?

A similar case of limited distribution, with a tendency for the incident to drop out or become distorted as the story gets further west, is provided by the hero's meeting the white and black rams in the underworld. He jumps upon the wrong one and is carried, not back to earth but to a world yet lower than the underworld. Of this incident I know of variants from Asia Minor, the Avars of the Caucasus, Armenia and, in an altered form, Georgia. Along the northern line it is found in Turkish, Greek and Bohemian (Czech) stories, on the southern among the Arabs of Aleppo and in two Moorish versions.<sup>4</sup>

In dealing with the question of Indian origin, the main difficulty is to know what weight is to be placed upon the occurrence of a theme in Indian oral tradition in determining the probability of Indian origin. A folk-tale handed down by oral tradition may be of great local antiquity or it may not. Here I venture on a suggestion. It is known that a number of stories have passed into China and Indo-China with Buddhism at an early and roughly ascertainable date. It seems to me that a great service would be done by a specialist in Eastern folk-tales who should examine and catalogue these tales; for clearly the plots of these stories, if they appeared in the West, would legitimately be classified as of Indian origin.

Another line of investigation, for which I am alas not personally equipped, is to attempt to settle how far the

<sup>1</sup> Cox, *Cinderella*, pp. 158, 216, 297.

<sup>2</sup> Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (London, 1860), p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> A discussion of the distribution of this incident will be found in Cosquin, *Contes Indiens*, pp. 486-494.

modern oral tradition of India may be due not to a continuous existence in India but to reflex influences from Islam. It is admitted of course that Persian and Arabic literature borrowed freely from, and in some cases merely translated, Indian collections of stories. But how far did they give them new forms or add to them new inventions? For example, the story of the *Three Orange Peris* quite demonstrably spread over Southern Europe from the Middle East. It is clearly allied to certain Indian stories, but the Indian analogues are not the same identical story. Is it possible that here an Indian motive was worked up in the Middle East and spread to the West in its modified form?

The discount to be allowed for recent European influence on modern Oriental stories is perhaps not large. Particular difficult cases arise which are perhaps insoluble. For example, the *Three Hunchbacks*, a favourite theme of the fabliaux, and current in Italy and modern Greece to-day (it is not perhaps impossible that both these oral versions may be derived from Straparola) first occurs in both its forms in the thirteenth century. It appears in the non-Oriental parts of the English *Gesta Romanorum* and in the Jewish as opposed to the Arabic part of the Hebrew version of *Sindibad*. In the East it has been recorded in Annam. Whether it came first from India to Europe and Annam alike or has come to Annam recently from a European source there is no evidence, though I personally believe the latter to be more probable.<sup>1</sup> But generally speaking the influence of modern Europe would appear to be slight, and even the *ayah* stories of Miss Frere, which Jacobs was inclined a little to distrust, have had their genuinely Oriental character confirmed by further collections which cannot be under the same suspicion.

In conclusion, let me illustrate some of the points which

<sup>1</sup> See my note on a Welsh Gypsy variant, *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series, I. pp. 55 foll.

I have endeavoured to raise by discussing a particular example, the *Open Sesame* incident in *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves*. It will be quite clear to anyone who studies the European variants disinterestedly—and thanks to Bolte und Polivka that is not difficult to do—that they are derived from the version in *The Arabian Nights*. In oral tradition the story tends to break down through misunderstanding. The password will become Semsin or some meaningless word. Again the narrator, like the fool of his story, may remember his plant vaguely. He will retain the name of a plant but get it wrong, and the password will become "Open Hyacinth," "Open Rose" or "Open Tree." In some cases the password degenerates into a mere "Open Mountain" or "Open Rock."

What is the reason of the original "Open Sesame?" The late F. W. Hasluck suggested what I am sure is the explanation. Sesame is used for the charm to open because sesame oil is used for oiling locks. We may compare a Turkish story in which *madchun*, the name of a kind of stick-jaw, is used as a charm to make things stick together.<sup>1</sup> But, further, this use of sesame points definitely to an origin east of the Mediterranean, for upon the shores of that sea sesame cannot compete with olive. It would, therefore, seem certain, firstly, that "Open Sesame" is the original, of which the other forms of password are perversions due to misunderstanding, and, secondly, that the incident could only have been invented in the East.

What about India? Only one Indian variant, the Kashmiri,<sup>2</sup> is known to me or, as I find, to Bolte und Polivka. In that the password is an unspecified charm. Clearly there are two possibilities of the relation of this version to that in *The Arabian Nights*. Either it represents an original Indian version with a meaningless password which was worked up in the Middle East into the form

<sup>1</sup> Kunoz, *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul*, p. 370.

<sup>2</sup> Knowles, *Folktales of Kashmir*, p. 267.



which has dominated Western tradition, or it represents a degenerate version, like some of the Western variants, in which Open Sesame has been replaced by a meaningless password, of a story which was invented in the Middle East and from thence spread eastwards into India as well as westwards into Europe.

NOTE UPON AESOP, JATAKAS AND AHIKAR.

The question as to the original home of the beast-fable has been hotly disputed. Opinion, however, is at present tending towards the view that the fable came to Greece from the East. A new light has been thrown upon the problem by the papyrus discovered at Elephantine, which was published by Sachau in 1911. This document, in fact, raises the same kind of problem for antiquity which I have ventured to raise in respect of modern Indian stories. It makes the claims for Greek originality less probable, it is true, but it also throws doubt upon the theory which regards the fable as an Indian invention; for it suggests the possibility that both Indian and European versions may be derived, not from each other, but from a common original.

The difficulty of the whole problem arises from the absence of dateable evidence at crucial points in the argument. The first appearance of the beast-fable in European literature is in Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 202 foll. (*The Hawk and the Nightingale*). It may seem at first sight gratuitous to postulate the possibility of Eastern influences in the literature of mainland Greece as early as the ninth century B.C. But Hesiod has admittedly connections with the far side of the Aegean. He writes in the metre which had been perfected by Homer, and his own father, as he tells us (*Works and Days*, 633), came to Greece from Aeolian Kyme in Asia Minor. Archilochus in the eighth century B.C. shows that the fable was then

well known in Ionia. His reference to the story of *The Ape and the Fox* contains the earliest mention of the monkey in European literature.

Aesop was said by the Greeks to have been a barbarian slave, and to have lived in Samos about the middle of the sixth century B.C. (Herodotus, ii. 134). Now Samos was one of the great commercial states in the Eastern trade, and her connection with Egypt was sufficiently important for the Samians to have a separate temple of their own at Naucratis. The island was, of course, the birthplace of Pythagoras, who was thought by Herodotus (ii. 123) to have learned the doctrine of the transmigration of souls from the Egyptians. This can hardly be true as it stands, for the doctrine was not in fact native to Egypt; he may, however, have learned it through Egyptian channels though not from Egyptian sources. In spite of the contrary opinion of Burnet, who is certainly the first British authority upon early Greek philosophy, I cannot help believing that whether Pythagoras actually picked it up in India or in Egypt, the theory came from the East. Burnet's suggestion that Pythagoras derived it from the Orphics seems to me extremely improbable. Our evidence both about early Pythagoreanism and about Orphism is lamentably scanty, but, such as it is, I believe it improbable that the transmigration of souls was an original and essential feature of Orphism. Indeed it seems to me likely that the Orphic brotherhoods learned it from the Pythagoreans.

But to return to Aesop, that his fables were popular in the fifth century B.C. is shown by frequent references in Aristophanes. Drolls and facetiae, Milesian and Sybaritic tales, were also then in vogue. Of these we know only the general character and cannot tell whether they were identical in plot with Oriental drolls. Socrates in prison contemplated the composition of a literary Aesop, but Demetrius of Phaleron in the fourth century B.C. was the

first, as far as we know, to publish a collection of the fables.

His work has not survived, and our own Aesop rests upon the editions of Phaedrus, first century after Christ, and Babrius, third century after Christ. There is reason to believe that Eastern collections of fables were then available through Alexandria, and some of the identities between Aesop and the *Jatakas* may be due to direct borrowing at this comparatively recent date. All coincidences, however, can not be so explained, for they are not confined to the later strata. Some of the stories alluded to by Aristophanes, e.g. *The Eagle and the Dung-beetle* (*Peace*, 135; *Lysistrata*, 695), occur also in Eastern literature. It may further be noticed that the reference in Herodotus shows that *The Life of Aesop* was already in existence, though no doubt not in its fully developed form, in the fifth century B.C. Now there is reason to believe that *the Life* formed a story-frame for the fables (see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Fabel), an interesting point, for the device of the story-frame has always been a characteristic of Oriental fiction.

There are three passages in Herodotus containing stories other than fables, which are common to Eastern as well as to Western literature. The first is the story of *Intaphernes' Wife* (iii. 119), which appears in Herodotus as ostensibly a Persian story. Sophocles, *Antigone*, 909-912, is without doubt directly derived from Herodotus. Parallels occur both in the *Jatakas* and in the *Ramayana*, and coincidences of phrase suggest that these derived it from a common source (Pischel, *Hermes*, xxviii. 1893, pp. 465 foll.).

The second is the story of Hippocleides (vi. 129), which is identical with that of *The Dancing Peacock* in the *Jatakas* (Warren, *Hermes*, xxix. p. 476; Macan, *Herodotus*, iv-vi. ii. pp. 304 foll.). It seems difficult to doubt that of the two versions the Greek is the secondary.

The third is the story of *Rhapsinitus and the Thieves* (ii. 121), ostensibly an Egyptian story. The tale was already known to the Greeks and had been told of Agamenes and Trophonios in the *Telegonia* of Eugammon of Cyrene, one of the post-Homeric writers of epic (see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Agamenes). It appears also in the *Jatakas* and in other Indian collections, and with Buddhism passed from India to China and Tibet (see Bolte und Polivka, *Anmerkungen*, iii. pp. 403 foll.).

If these coincidences are not to be explained by spontaneous and independent generation, did these fables and stories come from India to Greece or pass from Greece to India? Unfortunately, where there are coincidences between the *Jatakas* and European literature written before the birth of Christ, there is a fundamental and insuperable difficulty in deciding the question of priority. The great antiquity of the *Jataka* tradition depends upon inferential probability and not upon proof. The earliest MS. belongs to the fifth century of our era, and the Sinhalese sculptures of the third century after Christ show that two hundred years earlier the same fables were in Buddhistic circulation. It is quite probable, but it cannot be proved, that they go back to the Buddha himself (i.e. fifth century B.C.). It is a reasonable hypothesis, though it is not more than a hypothesis, that that religious teacher adapted to his own use a pre-existing popular literary form, just as Our Lord made use of Parables.

The remarkable discovery of considerable portions of *The Sayings of Ahiḥar* upon a papyrus, written in Aramaic in the fifth century B.C., which belonged to the Jewish community of Elephantine in Egypt, has suggested new possibilities. The *Sayings of Ahiḥar* were, of course, previously known; they are referred to in the first chapter of the *Book of Tobit*.<sup>1</sup> But they had not been traced

<sup>1</sup> See *The Story of Ahiḥar from the Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Old Turkish and Slavonic Versions*, by F. C. Conybeare,

back earlier than the second century B.C., and it was generally supposed that the work was a relatively late compilation of the Hellenistic period. Whether or not the compiler was a Jew had been disputed, but it was generally believed that, wherever the book was actually put together, its relation to the Greek *Aesop* was derivative. For some of the fables of *Ahiḳar* correspond with some of *Aesop*; here too we have the story frame, the romance of the wise *Ahiḳar*, the vezir of Sennacherib (705-681), in which the fables are set. The book was evidently in wide popular circulation before the Jews of Elephantine carried a copy of it with them to their foreign home. Its contents, and the dialect in which it is written, suggest that, at any rate in this form, it originated in Mesopotamia.

Edward Meyer (*Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*) rightly emphasises the importance of this discovery. Here a chance has preserved for us a fragment of the secular literature of the Middle East, which except for a few sparse folk-tales and romances from Egypt, has hitherto been entirely lost. "If we omit the scanty remains of the religious writings of the Parsees, of the whole literature of the ancient East from the Indus westwards only those fragments of Israelite-Jewish literature, which have found a place in the Canon of the Old Testament, have come down to us through literary tradition." The date and language make it quite impossible that this *Ahiḳar* can have borrowed from the Greek *Aesop*. The statement of Clement of Alexandria (*Stromat.* i. 15, 69) that the wisdom of *Ahiḳar* figured among the writings attributed to Democritus need no longer be discounted, and it is

J. Rendel Harris and Agnes Smith Lewis, second edition, Cambridge, 1913. The notes and introduction contain references to the considerable literature of the subject. Cosquin's two articles, *La Légende de Tobie et l'Histoire du Sage Ahiḳar*, *Revue Biblique*, 1899, pp. 53-82, and *Encore l'Histoire du Sage Ahiḳar*, pp. 510-531, are not included in the two posthumous volumes mentioned above.

therefore probable that a Greek translation was in circulation in Ionia in the fifth century B.C. (see Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 123-125). Is it not possible that in the lost literature of which the papyrus has given us a specimen, may lie the common source both of the *Fatakas* and of *Aesop*?

W. R. HALLIDAY.



## THE STORY OF PHRIXOS AND MODERN FOLKLORE.

THE story of Phrixos, his sister Helle, and their marvellous flight to the far-off country on the shores of the Pontos, is well known on account of its connection with the expedition of the Argonauts in search of the golden fleece. It is recorded by Apollodoros in the following words :<sup>1</sup>

"Of the sons of Aiolos, Athamas, ruler of Boiotia, became by Nephele the father of two children, Phrixos a boy and Helle a girl. Again he married Ino, of whom were born to him Learchos and Melikertes. Ino, plotting against the children of Nephele, persuaded the women to parch the wheat. They took it without the knowledge of the men and did so. The earth receiving wheat that was parched failed to give her yearly crops. Consequently Athamas sent to Delphoi to ask how he could be rid of this barrenness. But Ino induced the messengers whom he had sent to declare that, according to the oracle, the curse upon the crops would be removed if Phrixos were sacrificed to Zeus. Athamas, hearing this, was compelled by the inhabitants of the land to obey, and set Phrixos beside the altar. But Nephele caught him up along with her daughter, and, having obtained from Hermes a ram with a golden fleece, gave it to them. Carried by the ram through the sky, they traversed land and sea. But, when they were over the sea that lies between Sigeion and the Chersonesos, Helle slipped off into the deep ;

<sup>1</sup> *Bibl.* i. 9, 1 f. I utilize the translation of Arthur B. Cook, *Zeus*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 415. An almost identical account is found in Tzetzes in *Lyk. Al.* 22 ; Zenob. iv. 38 ; Eudok. *viol.* 342, 478 ; Hyginus, *fab.* 2 f.

and, as she perished there, the sea was called Hellespontos after her. Phrixos came to the Kolchoi, whose king was Aietes, son of the Sun-god and of Perseis, and brother of Kirke and Pasiphae the wife of Minos. Aietes welcomed him and gave him Chalkiope, one of his daughters. Phrixos slew the ram with the golden fleece as a sacrifice to Zeus and Phrixos gave its skin to Aietes; he nailed it round an oak-tree in a grove of Ares. . . ."

The oldest version of the myth that has come down to us in its entirety is that of Sophokles, and presents some noteworthy variants. According to it Athamas deserted the goddess Nephele and married instead a mortal woman. Nephele, out of jealousy, punished him by sending a drought. The messengers sent to Delphoi are bribed by the stepmother, and the children are about to be fetched from the flocks, when a ram speaking with a human voice, warns them of the danger. They flee on the ram. Helle is drowned, Phrixos gets safely to the Kolchoi. The ram is sacrificed after having become golden-fleeced by the agency of the gods. The stepmother is not named.<sup>1</sup>

Apollodoros and the scholiast on the *Iliad*<sup>2</sup> say nothing about Helle's being about to be sacrificed, while, according to the scholiast on Aristophanes,<sup>3</sup> that on Apollonios Rhodios,<sup>4</sup> Pausanias<sup>5</sup> and Zenobios,<sup>6</sup> both brother and sister are to die on the altar. According to one passage of Hyginus,<sup>7</sup> Phrixos offers himself as a sacrifice on the occasion of a drought which afflicts his father's country.

Georg Wissowa<sup>8</sup> draws the conclusion that the versions according to which Phrixos alone is to be the victim are

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 257; Apostol. xi. 58; Eudok. *viol.* 28; of. also Schol. Aisch. *Pers.* 70.

<sup>2</sup> vii. 86.

<sup>3</sup> *Nub.* 257.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. on Apollonios Rhodios, *Argonaut.* ii. 653.

<sup>5</sup> *Descr. Gr.* ix. 34, 5.

<sup>6</sup> iv. 38.

<sup>7</sup> *Fab.* 2; also according to the schol. on Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 288.

<sup>8</sup> Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. by G. Wissowa, Halbband, xv. cc. 159-162.



nearer the original myth than the others, and this conclusion is undoubtedly correct, Helle having been introduced into the story evidently in order to die and to give a name to a part of the sea.

Concerning the cause of the drought, the same scholar believes that the story of Sophokles presents a more natural and therefore more primitive motivation. In his opinion the plot of the original myth was essentially that of the jealousy of the heavenly wife of Athamas, a widely known motif, out of which developed the younger form which put the figure of the wicked stepmother in the foreground. The *märchen* motif of *Brüderchen und Schwesterchen*<sup>1</sup> was of influence in creating the figure of Helle. Wissowa also thinks it probable that in the original myth the oracle really demanded the sacrifice of Phrixos and that Zeus substituted a ram for him, just as Artemis substituted a hind for Iphigeneia. This is also the opinion of Arthur B. Cook.<sup>2</sup>

What has not been pointed out heretofore is that the whole tale of the child warned and saved by a magic ram, who carries him to a foreign country where he wins honours and riches, and generally the hand of a beautiful princess, is a *märchen* type of no uncommon occurrence among the people of Europe and Western Asia, and that it was this *märchen* type which from the very beginning shaped the story of Phrixos and caused it to take a different development from analogous substitution tales such as those of Iphigeneia and Isaac.

Let us put together the traits in the Phrixos story which belongs to that type.

1. A child is persecuted by an evil stepmother.
2. When it is about to be killed it is warned by an animal.
3. The animal saves the child and provides it with treasure.

<sup>1</sup> Grimm, *Kinder-u.-Hausmärchen*, No. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* I. 417.

4. With the help of the animal, or the treasure, or both, the child makes an honourable match in a foreign country.

The type in question is generally known by Grimm's tale *Einäuglein, Zweidäuglein und Dreidäuglein*.<sup>1</sup> In some of the existing variants the stepchild is a girl, in others it is a boy.<sup>2</sup> There are two children, a boy and a girl, in an Arabic<sup>3</sup> and a Kabyle tale.<sup>4</sup> In some versions the stepmother simply illtreats the child, in others she plans to kill it.<sup>5</sup> In most stories of this type it is however not the child that is to be killed, but the helpful animal.<sup>6</sup> It is possible that this is a mitigation of an older, cruder form where the child is to be slaughtered.

Before the day when the child's fate is to take a tragic turn, generally by being deprived of its animal friend, the animal warns it, and they flee together. This is the case in a Danish,<sup>7</sup> a Norwegian,<sup>8</sup> an English,<sup>9</sup> a French,<sup>10</sup> an Icelandic<sup>11</sup> and several East European<sup>12</sup> versions. With the help of the animal the fugitive succeeds in freeing

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* No. 130; cf. Bolte-Polivka, *Anmerkungen*, iii. 60-66; A. Aarne, *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen*, Helsinki, 1910, p. 23, type 511.

<sup>2</sup> Bolte-Polivka, iii. 65-66.

<sup>3</sup> René Basset, *Contes populaires d'Afrique*, Paris, 1903, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> J. Rivière, *Recueil des contes populaires de la Kabylie du Djurdjura*, Paris, 1882, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> In the version of Martin Montanus, as outlined by Bolte-Polivka, iii. 62, the stepmother drives the child into a wild forest and abandons it there.

<sup>6</sup> Grimm, *op. cit.* No. 130; cf. also Bolte-Polivka, *op. et loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> E. T. Kristensen, *Danske folkesæventyr*, Viborg, 1888, i. 57, No. 8: *Den liden guldske*.

<sup>8</sup> G. W. Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse*, New York, 1888, p. 357: *Katie Woodencloak*.

<sup>9</sup> *The Red Calf*, *Folk-Lore Journal*, ii. 1884, p. 72.

<sup>10</sup> Paul Sébillot, *Contes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, Paris, 1880, i. 15, No. 3.

<sup>11</sup> A. Rittershaus, *Die neusländischen Volksmärchen*, Halle, 1902, p. 36, No. viii.: *Rauðiból*.

<sup>12</sup> Bolte-Polivka, iii. 66.

a princess from a monster,<sup>1</sup> or obtains costly clothes<sup>2</sup> with which the heroine wins the hand of a prince.

In another group of tales the animal does not escape its fate, but is killed by the stepmother. Before dying, it bids the hero or heroine sow its entrails or bones in the ground, and a marvellous tree bearing golden fruit arises, which assures the happiness of the heroine.<sup>3</sup>

In a large number of versions the animal provides the children with food,<sup>4</sup> in others with clothing;<sup>5</sup> in still others it helps the girl in fulfilling an impossible task imposed upon her by the stepmother.<sup>6</sup>

The helpful animal is generally a bull<sup>7</sup> or a cow,<sup>8</sup> sometimes a ram,<sup>9</sup> rarely a horse.

This exposition will make it clear that the story of Phrixos belongs to the *märchen* type of *Einäuglein, Zweiäuglein und Dreiäuglein*. Next the question must be answered, How did the Greek myth arise, and how did Phrixos come to be connected with this fairy tale?

The basis of the Phrixos story is undoubtedly an Old Greek belief of holding the king responsible for the failure of the crops. The result was that the king was sacrificed to mitigate the wrath of the gods whenever a famine threatened.<sup>10</sup> Sir J. G. Frazer, in his *Golden Bough*, collected

<sup>1</sup> Rittershaus, *op. et loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Kristensen, *op. et loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Grimm, *op. cit.* No. 130; cf. Bolte-Polivka, *op. et loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> J. Haltrich, *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus dem Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen*, Wien, 1885, p. 153, No. 36: *Das Zauberkorn*.

<sup>7</sup> In the stories of Dassot, Haltrich, Kristensen, Rittershaus and Sébillot, to mention a few.

<sup>8</sup> In the story of Basset quoted above and in several Italian versions cited by Bolte-Polivka, iii. 64.

<sup>9</sup> Reinhold Köhler, *Kl. Schr.*, Berlin, 1900, i. 258, 272; Paul Sébillot, *Contes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, Paris, 1881, oo. 167, No. 29.

<sup>10</sup> Sir J. G. Frazer, in his commentary on Pausanias, v. 172, adduces evidence which tends to show that the Phrixos story did not originate in an emergency sacrifice, but in a regular immolation of the eldest son of the king or prince; cf. also Frazer, *The Dying God*, p. 161.

examples for this barbarous custom from all over the earth.<sup>1</sup> Traces of it are found in Snorre's *Heimskringla*<sup>2</sup> and in *Early Irish Lives of Saint Patrick*.<sup>3</sup> Later, when the inconveniences of this system began to dawn upon both king and people, it was held sufficient to sacrifice a substitute, who, at first, very naturally was the king's son.<sup>4</sup> Still later, an outlaw or criminal took this place, and finally an animal was substituted for a human being. Thus Isaac and Iphigeneia are saved by the substitution of a ram or a hind. This undoubtedly was the stage of the Phrixos myth before its connection with the Argonaut story, which was a consequence of Greek colonization on the shores of the Pontos. Once Phrixos was said to have come to the Kolchoi, an explanation had to be found of how he got there, and then the *märchen* type under discussion offered the best and most logical solution. All these stages are clearly distinguishable in the different Greek versions. In a passage of Hyginus,<sup>5</sup> and in the scholion on Pindar, based on the version of Pherekydes, one of the oldest writers on Greek legendary history; Phrixos offers himself voluntarily. In Sophokles, the drought is not caused by the stepmother, who is not even named, but is what may be called a "natural" occurrence, the work of the higher powers. However, the connection with the Argonaut story has already taken place, and the *märchen* motif has been adopted. The stepmother plots the death of her stepson. The *märchen* itself has

<sup>1</sup> *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, London, 1913, i. 335, 366, 396 ff.; *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1914, i. 21, 110, 183; ii. 154, 163, 266.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. H. Meyer, *Mythologie der Germanen*, Strassburg, 1903, p. 336.

<sup>3</sup> Whitley Stokes, *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, London, 1887, p. clix.

<sup>4</sup> Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Dying God*, London, 1914, pp. 160 ff.; *Spirits of the Corn and the Wild*, London, 1914, pp. 13, 24 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Fab. 2*; cf. also note 8.

however not yet become an integral part of the original story, for the ram is not suddenly substituted by Zeus for the human victim, but it is a ram of Athamas' flock which warns Phrixos, just as in the North and Central European tales the ram or bull is a member of the herd that has been entrusted to the care of the hero or heroine. The metamorphosis does not take place till they are well on their way to the Kolchoi, when by the agency of the gods the ram suddenly becomes golden-fleeced. In Apollodorus we see the legend in its final form: the animal is no longer the good helper of the stepchild, but the marvellous gift from the gods, for both Phrixos' mother and Hermes are summoned to explain its miraculous faculties.

A word might perhaps be said why the helpful animal happens to be a bull, cow, or ram, in the ancient myth as well as in the modern folk-tales. As was pointed out by Arthur B. Cook,<sup>1</sup> both bull and ram are to a primitive people the animals of fertility *par excellence*; they are the givers of wealth and fruitfulness. No wonder, then, that the orphan children should find unexpected succour in their father's flock, that a bull, cow, or ram should help them when no other helper is near.

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<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* i. 429, 430, 501; 634, 717.

## COLLECTANEA.

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### CHILDREN BORN BY THE FOOT PRESENTATION.

CHILDREN born out of the mother's womb with their feet foremost are supposed throughout their life (1) to be able to cure lumbago by rubbing down with their bare left foot the bare loin (from the back) of the person affected, the rubbing to be done three times at sunset, the affected person sitting on the ground with the face to the South; and (2) to be particularly liable to be killed by lightning—in fact it is supposed that every person killed by lightning must have been born in this manner.

I believe that this kind of birth is rather uncommon. I was myself born in this way nearly forty-seven years ago at Murdi, a small village in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency, and I was the only person in the village affected in this way. I used therefore to be often called upon to exercise it by two or three old persons in the village who suffered from lumbago. As a child I used to be rather pleased with such a call, as after the operation I used to be rewarded with some sweetmeat or a gift. Later on I left the village practically for good and settled in Poona. I occasionally mentioned in fun this fancied quality of mine among my friends. One day about six years ago I received a sudden call late in the afternoon from a pleader friend of mine. On going there I found that he was very ill, and had acute pain in the back. He was told by some Parsi lady friends who had come to visit him that he would be cured if he got his back rubbed down by such a person (in the Marathi language called a *pāyālā*), and, as he knew that I was such, he had called me. He was too

ill to argue with, and I had to perform the operation required not only then but on two or three succeeding days. [I may mention that the Parsis are the most advanced and best educated community in India.] In this case no results followed; as a matter of fact the doctor who was treating him had only pretended that he was suffering from lumbago in order not to frighten the patient who was really suffering from pleurisy. I suppose the ladies who recommended this treatment still attribute his cure to my efficacy. The friend recovered after four or five months of medical treatment.

As to the other belief I cannot give my personal experience as I have not yet been struck dead by lightning! But the idea of my peculiar vulnerability was so strongly impressed on my mind in my childhood by my mother and others, who would never allow me to go out in a thunderstorm, that it has become almost an instinct with me now; and I cannot help experiencing a special shock on seeing a flash of lightning. Of course it has no practical effect upon my actions; but I think I have to make a special exertion of my will in opposing my instinctive feeling on almost every occasion when I have to go out when there is thunder and lightning about.

[Muslimans in India regard a child born in this way as possessed of magical powers (Ja'far Sharif, *Islām in India*, p. 265 *et seq.*); the lumbago cure is practised in the Panjab (*Panjab Notes and Queries*, i. 112). For similar beliefs in Great Britain see Gregor, *Folklore of Northern Scotland*, 45 *et seq.*; *County Folklore, Fife*, 396. Rendel Harris (*Boanerges*, 56, 64, 110, 125, 133, 139) gives numerous examples.—EDITOR.]

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#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GREEK PERSONAL NAMES.

KASTORIA, the ancient *Kéasterov*, lies on the lake of the same name in remote western Macedonia. Before the Monastir-Salonica railway was built some forty years ago, it cost five days' hard travel through dangerous country to reach Salonica, the

nearest civilised town: even to-day, when trains and motor charabancs have simplified the journey, it still takes three days, and, if the snow wills, it may take ten.

In these circumstances it is not to be expected that the women of Kastoria should travel much. In addition, they are left mainly to their own resources, the men being absent for long periods, even years, plying their trade as furriers in Leipzig, in London, in Paris, or in New York. Very few ideas from the outside world penetrate into a Greek household, if there is no head to come and go daily.

It seems therefore inevitable that customs and ideas in Kastoria should lag behind those of southern Greece. External signs of this are, for instance, the unwieldy boats on the lake, which are little removed from dug-outs, and are rowed by one man sculling forward with oars fastened to the thole-pins with string. Again, the Greek women of Kastoria, if over forty, habitually wear the tasselled fez and braided dress described by Leake and other travellers of a century ago as general among Greeks, but long since discarded except at Kastoria and its neighbour, Siatista. The Turkish women still enamel their faces with *φθιασίδι*; the Greeks, if their teeth tell true,<sup>1</sup> have

<sup>1</sup> This enamel is a fearsome compound of sublimate of mercury and nitric acid, so that it is not surprising that it should soon ruin the wearer's complexion. As it induces a constant licking of the lips, a deposit is left on the teeth; the mercury blackens and eats away the teeth within a short time. Its preparation is interesting. The two ingredients are put in a dish and taken to a "wise woman," who says the other's name and then the following spell:

ὁ ἔξφας καὶ ὁ διέργυρος  
 εὐὰ γίνων ἀδελφεὰ !  
 πῶς λάμπει ὁ ἥλιος  
 εὐὰ λάμπ' ὁ πρόσωπος !  
 τρέχει εὐὰ κίονγ  
 καὶ τὸ πρόσωπο εὐὰ τρέφῃ  
 εὐὰ βλέπουσιν τὰ παλαῖον  
 καὶ εὐὰ τρεχάιντα,  
 καὶ ὁ κόσμος  
 εὐὰ ἀπορεθῶ.

i.e. May the nitric acid and the sublimate of mercury  
 Become brothers !  
 As the sun shines,



only recently left off the same practice. The Greek, too, spoken at Kastoria has a more archaic flavour; thus, children are τέκνα rather than παιδιά, πρόθεν εἶσαι rather than ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶσαι greets the stranger, while the Greek army in 1912 σάβκα<sup>1</sup> rather than μαῖκεν μέγα into Kastoria.

In harmony with this general backwardness of development their superstitions about personal names seem to belong to a remoter age. I have certainly nowhere else in Greece found them preserved in so complete a form.

In Western Macedonia the patriarchal system of life still prevails. The sons with their wives and children have no separate home, but live with their parents. It is, however, a common Greek superstition that two persons bearing the same name cannot live in the same house, for in that case either the one or the other must die (ἢ ὁ ἕως ἢ ὁ ἄλλος θὰ ποθαίῃ). For this reason in Old Greece the living father or mother's name is rarely given to a child, while in Kastoria the grandparent, if alive, must explicitly give his or her consent before his or her name is given to the baby. Some grandparents, more especially grandmothers, whether living in the same house as the child or not, refuse the necessary permission for fear it should cause their own death (γιά νὰ μὴ ποθαίῃουν). Others consent, acknowledging that they run a risk, but saying that their time after all is done (τέλειται ἡ ἐποχή μας). In short, giving the aged grandparent's name to the new-born child is almost a sort of insurance against the child's premature death.

May So-and-So's face shine !  
May it shave away the hair  
And feed the skin of her face,  
That the youths may see  
And go mad,  
And that the world  
May be astonished !

Its owner then takes it home, and every morning for a week spits on it and works it over with a pestle before touching food or drink, ending by laying it in the sun. At first it is bluish in colour but gradually whitens until the woman is satisfied, when she pours boiling water over it. She rapidly pours it off and the enamel is ready.

<sup>1</sup> Acrist of σιβάινα.

In these cases the name seems bound up with the life of the person. It is perhaps for some such reason that on asking a traveller's name and being told it, the Macedonian Greek says, "May you live!" as he does when told how many relatives the traveller possesses. They say that it is only a good wish in polite acknowledgement of the answer given, but I cannot find it said in acknowledgment of any other personal question answered—every traveller to Greece knows how numerous these are!

But the name is concerned with more than the person's life, it is concerned also with the soul. While in general, according to Macedonian etiquette, the father's parents take precedence of the mother's when a child is to be named, a dead maternal grandparent would take precedence of a living paternal grandparent, even if the latter were anxious for his or her name to be given. This is because it is believed that the dead grandparent's soul will be enabled to leave Paradise<sup>1</sup> and find a new home in the body of the infant. They naïvely add that only owing to these reincarnations of the souls of the dead is Paradise saved from overcrowding. The childless dead present a problem, but sometimes a nephew or niece will name a child after them and thus enable them to return to earth. Such a return to earth is always desirable, even though the childless dead have a special position in Paradise, because on earth, being free from family toils and cares, they have probably been of great service to their fellow-men.

It follows logically enough that if a child dies, its name is given to the first child of the same sex born afterwards. As in the case of a dead grandparent, their motives are mixed. They wish the name to be preserved (γὰρ τὰ ἀσώγηται τὸ ὄνομα) and they wish to give the dead child's soul the opportunity of reincarnation. Should the mother's grief, however, be too poignant for her to bear to hear the name again, another is chosen, and the soul of the dead child left to its fate.

The same mixture of motives is at work in the practice of giving the father's name to his posthumous son. No poignancy

<sup>1</sup> Their horror of death is, in spite of all theological teaching as to the joys of Paradise, absolutely Homeric in expression and intensity.

of grief could excuse the widow's giving the child another name—but in Macedonia few women grieve for a husband's death as they grieve for a child's—her doing so would indicate an uneasy conscience and prove her to have been an unloving, even a faithless, wife. She must name the baby after his father, not merely, however, to enable the father's soul to come back to this world, but also to allow it to enter Paradise. Apparently it must hover on the outskirts until the child is born and named. No attempt is made to reconcile the two theories, and it is admitted that if the child is a girl, nothing can be done by the widow for the father's soul apart from the usual memorial masses.

It is natural enough that they should suppose a child develops the character and qualities of the dead grandparent whose name and soul it possesses. A girl of fifteen, whom I knew personally at Kastoria, is said by her numerous aunts and uncles to be remarkably like her grandmother in character, "because she has her grandmother's name and therefore her soul" (*ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα τῆς καὶ ἐνταῦς ἔχει καὶ τὴ ψυχὴ τῆς*). A complication ought to ensue where several grandchildren exist with the same grandparent's name, but the common illogicality of folklore saves the situation. They were unable to tell me what happened to the soul in this case, though one old lady suggested that the first grandchild given the name after the grandparent's death acquired the soul. It was obvious, however, that her answer was based on the fact that her daughter resembled her mother, while her niece, who was younger, did not, although she, too, had been given the dead grandmother's name.

The next generation in Kastoria will probably see a weakening in the tradition similar to that experienced in Old Greece. It will be due not merely to the encroachments of civilisation, but also to the quickening of Hellenist sentiment occasioned by the liberation of Macedonia from the Turks, and expressed, among other ways, by giving ancient Greek names to children. Thirty years ago only two ancient names<sup>1</sup> were found among the forty-

<sup>1</sup> I find that the very usual names of Calliope and Leonidas are not known to be ancient, and children so called are named after the Christian saints Calliope and Leonidas.

four borne by the boys attending the High School of Kastoria; to-day the proportion of ancient to saints' names is eight to forty-two. It is probably safe to assume that, as the old-fashioned names slowly retire before the modern fashion, so will the people's old-fashioned superstitions gradually decay and pass away.

It may be noted that throughout this article I speak only of Kastoria. That is because I have so far been unable to discover similar beliefs elsewhere except in fragmentary form. But enough of this fragmentary evidence<sup>1</sup> has reached me to convince me that probably all Greece once shared the beliefs of Kastoria, and therefore, like many other parts of the world, believed in the transmigration of souls.

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FOLKLORE SCRAPS.

THE following beliefs were gathered at various dates from the summer of 1913 onwards. The informants were mostly English.

1. *Presumably Gloucestershire.* The informant, E. P. (cf. *Folk-Lore*, 1915, p. 210) was a native of that shire, not uneducated, but decidedly superstitious and on the lookout for omens. For example, when her outer skirt fell off for no obvious reason, she was sure it "must mean something," though she had no idea what. She also was occasionally the author of a bit of folk-medicine; she was quite sure, from her own experience as a nurse, that a baby who crows much will be subject to convulsions.

<sup>1</sup> For instance, in Crete the godfather's name may not be given to the child; the godfather, of course, stands *in loco parentis* to his god-child. At Lamia the living father's name may not be given. "Cranky old ladies" of Chalcis, I am told, refuse to allow their grandchildren to be given their names; the same is true of Syra. In Cephalonia the living grandparent's name must never be given.

*Hallowe'en divination.* In the informant's childhood (she was born about 1880 or a little later) the following method was in use among the children. Three plates were set out at one end of the room, one containing gold, another a ring, the third a thimble. The children walked up to them blindfolded and took the contents of the first plate they touched, which signified respectively a rich marriage, an early marriage (the first of those consulting the oracle) and no marriage. E. P. was also acquainted with divination by looking over one's shoulder into a mirror. This should be done at midnight on Hallowe'en, in silence and alone; the future husband appears in the mirror.

She also reported the following method, which she had learned from a Swiss girl, but which seems to be English. The consultant undresses and hangs over the foot of the bed every article of clothing, including hat, etc., which she has worn during the day. She then climbs into bed backwards over the bedfoot, repeating a rhyme, the sense of which is a prayer to All Hallows to show her her future husband. The rhyme E. P. could not remember, but was certain that it was English, as indeed it must have been since she knew no other language. The consultant must then go to sleep in silence, and will see the *futer* in a dream. E. P. had tried this method, but with poor success.

*Midsummer divination.* Last thing at night on Midsummer Eve, put out of doors a glass of water for each person whose fortune is to be told; into each glass put the white of an egg. At noon on Midsummer Day inspect the shape taken by the white of the egg. E. P. tried this on behalf of one of my children, whose nurse she was, and pronounced the result to be a church with an awning, *i.e.* marriage. (Cf. Aubrey, *Remaines*, p. 133 in the F.L.S. ed.)

*New Year's Day.* If money be deposited in the bank on this day, the year will be prosperous. (E. P. added sadly that she had tried this, and it wouldn't work.)

Always wear something new on New Year's Day and you will have plenty of new clothes all the year. (The informant believed firmly in this, and went to considerable trouble to change her charge into a new frock accordingly.)

*Spring.* "March will search, April will try, May will tell if you live or die."

*Friday.* A mattress should not be turned on Friday. (I have this also from the same informant as sect. 6.)

*Children, birth, pregnancy.* According as the expectant mother sleeps better or worse than usual, her child will be a sound or a light sleeper.

Pulvis qui dicitur bombardicus abortum faciet sumptus mulierem quandam e familiaribus suis sumpsisse; intestina eius atrata esse, fetum quem immaturum eiecisset comminutum ("blown to bits").

A pregnant woman should wear a binder of some kind to support the breasts; this will "draw the child up," and so presumably prevent miscarriage.

Children born early in the morning have the best chance of life; the later in the day they are born, the shorter the life.

To find anything dropped by a baby, especially a shoe, is lucky. The younger the baby the greater the luck. To be befouled by a baby is also lucky.

A new-born baby who sucks his thumb will be contented.

If a child's palm is easily tickled he cannot keep a secret.

If the little projection in the upper gum (between the upper incisors, below the frenum) is prominent, or, in later life, if the teeth are far apart, the child is destined to travel far.

A child who cries on his birthday will cry every day that year.<sup>1</sup>

If a baby has any of its clothes put on wrong side out, it will receive a present within the week.

If a child has a mole on his leg, he will be a good walker.

If the first child learns to say "Dad" sooner than "Mammy" the family will be large.

*Miscellaneous divination.* "Mole on the neck, trouble by the peck."

If two people simultaneously make the same remark one of them will get a letter.

A bird flying near the house, e.g. into a balcony, presages death, especially if it taps at a window.

<sup>1</sup> The Ontario variant is that a child who cries on Sunday will cry every day that week.

To dream of shoes is lucky.

To lose a tooth is to lose a friend. E. P. dreamed of losing one, and was somewhat apprehensive that the omen might be effective.

It is unlucky for two people to wash in the same water. To avert the ill-luck, the last to finish should spit in the water.

Good guessers never marry (see next section).

*Folk-medicine, etc.* To cure a sty, cross it with a ring.

For hiccough, "cross the toes," i.e. bend down and make a cross on them with the fingers. Apparently this is good for various diseases; E. P. used it on feeling a twinge of sciatica. Another informant, a native of Lancashire, knew of it as a cure for stitch in the side. The knees should not be flexed in stooping.

The white of an egg is innutritious, as it is nothing but feathers. Water in which eggs have been boiled should not be used to wash the hands or it will raise sores on them.

2. *Irish.* The following beliefs I had from my mother, who was born near Ballyshannon but lived most of her life in Canada.

Good guessers will marry soon.

Anyone who, in folding a tablecloth or the like, hits on the middle of it at once, will marry within the year.

3. *Bedfordshire.* The informant, a member of the staff of McGill University, Montreal, remembered the following belief from his boyhood (thirty-forty years ago). Persons wishing to be cured of some disease (he did not remember what) used to nail a piece of their hair to an old elm in Beaumont Tree Lane, between Silsoe and Ampthill, which was said to have grown from a murderer's gallows.

4. *Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somerset.* Blackthorn is accursed, because it flowers on Good Friday.

5. *Killinghall, near Harrogate, Yorkshire.* In the last generation the Yule log was still burned, and a piece of it saved to light the next year's log. On Christmas morning something green, a leaf or the like, was brought into the house before anything was taken out.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf., for Germany, F. L. W. Schwartz, *Der Heutige Volksglaube und das alte Heidentum* (Berlin, 1862) p. 92.

Flies at Christmas are a bad sign. (A variant of "Green Christmas, full graveyards"?)

Fowls crowding together under a bush are a sign of a quarrel.

6. *Cornwall*. (The informant, though resident in Anderton, near Plymouth, for many years, is not Cornish by birth.)

Babies never thrive until they have fallen out of bed.

Hake is an unclean fish, and was so pronounced by Christ, the marks of whose fingers are still to be seen on the fish's back.

7. *Miscellaneous*. The activities of the R.S.P.C.A. sometimes bring to light a bit of animal folklore. Thus, at Aberystwyth it is supposed that a kitten may be prevented from straying by cutting off a bit of its tail. (Cf. Frazer, *Folk-Lore of O.T.*, iii., p. 268.) The defendant in a cock-fighting case at Devizes Divisional Petty Sessions is reported to have said, "I always . . . let them (cocks) fight until they are killed, and the one that is killed I eat, and it puts the sporting spirit into me." (*Animal World*, April 1921.)

In the Southern States many of the negroes and of the lower-class whites tell the familiar story of Joshua commanding the sun and moon to stand still, with George Washington instead of Joshua. Another version substitutes Lincoln.

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WITH reference to three points raised by certain passages in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxiii, No. 3.

1. Folk-lore of the Isle of Skye (4), p. 311.

Is there any general connection between death and the wearing of clean clothes by the dead? The Angami Nagas believe that to dream of a person in "new" clothes foretells death. "New" and "clean," as far as clothes are concerned, are probably synonymous to the Angami.

2. The use of the bow among the Naga tribes. (p. 305.)

The simple bow, as a toy only, is found among the Angami as well as the Sema Nagas. The President of the Folk-Lore Society noticed one in Khonoma village when visiting it with



me last month. The bow was used for shooting at popinjays, and the arrows are made of thin bamboos with a separate head, fixed on by a tang, also made of bamboo.

3. Tangkhul Folk Tales, etc. (p. 268-270.)

Colonel Shakespear, commenting on the Tangkhul story of the Bat, compares part of it to the Angami story of the Rat Maiden. This is given apparently as a Japanese story by Mr. Andrew Lang ("The Husband of the Rat's Daughter"—*The Brown Fairy Book*). It appears also in a Santal story (Bompas, *Folk-Lore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 168), where features of both the Tangkhul and the Angami versions are combined with a caste origin idea foreign to both. Again, Benglama (p. 273), who finishes by persuading his fellow-villagers to jump into the river to get cattle, is Little Klaus himself. Other examples could be found. I have met living descendants of the captured swan-maiden, both in the Naga Hills and in the British Isles. I think the inference is that the chain of linked stories which extends from the Bay of Bengal to the Himalayas has links very much further afield than even Colonel Shakespear suggests. Personally I should be inclined to expect them wherever menhirs and dolmens are found, but Mr. J. P. Mills told me the other day that he had struck an exact parallel to an, I think, Ao Naga story in an Esquimo collection. Herodotus mentions on the same page (iv. 102-110 sq.) head-hunters, were-wolves, cannibals and Amazons as adjoining nations. It is curious to find that Nagas, themselves head-hunters, always associate were-tigers, cannibals and Amazons as living in three adjoining villages a little further east than themselves. Strabo (Bk. xv.) gives some accounts of monstrous tribes which I have heard word for word from Nagas, but as he is writing of India and refers to Chandragupta as sponsor for his statements, that is not so far from home.

4. Mr. Rose's paper on "Asinus in Tegulis" and subsequent notes came in an earlier number of the same volume. It is possibly worth adding that the Thado Kukis of Assam regard the ascent to the roof, not, of course, tiles but thatch in this case, of a dog or a goat as a terrible portent of impending disaster. If the owner of the house does not die himself, the least that can happen is the death within a few days of someone

in the direction of whose dwelling the unnatural climber has pointed its nose from the roof top. There are no donkeys in the Kuki country, but I asked what would happen if a cow got on the roof. That, I was told, would probably be still more terrible, but fortunately a cow could not get on to a roof, so that no one could say what would happen if it did. I cannot say for certain offhand, but I am pretty sure that some Naga tribes, at any rate, have similar ideas about domestic animals climbing on the roof, cats being necessarily excepted, as by the Kuki. The idea that underlies this belief in these hills may, I think, be inferred from others that are stated more specifically. If the post used by a Sema in building put forth leaves, the builder dies. Here I feel sure that the idea is (though I do not suggest that a Sema would state it so himself) that his "mana," so to speak, has dwindled or in some other way become less than those of an ordinarily insignificant post. An Angami using a leopard-skin to adorn his dancing shield must always put the head downwards, otherwise the leopard will cause the shield-bearer to fall, his head being above that of the man when the shield is lifted. So I suggest the ascent of an animal normally occupying a literally inferior position to one which is above the owner's head must either be the cause of, or made possible by, a diminution in the "mana" (I do not know a better word) of its owner. In a case of this sort a Naga would probably not trouble himself to distinguish between the cause and the result. Again I am reminded of my childhood and a much-tried Yorkshire nursemaid who would sometimes, when particularly exasperated, threaten, as a last resource when all else failed, to "look over" my "head." I remember, too, how upset she was when I used her own expression against her. It was a really serious thing to say.

J. H. HUTTON.

KOHIMA,  
NAGA HILLS, ASSAM.

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THE GIBBET ON INKPEN BEACON.

IN the Hampshire Highlands is Inkpen Beacon, and on the summit rises an old Double Gibbet. As may be expected,

either age or weather in time forces this wooden structure to fall to the ground. When this does happen, whoever re-erects it first holds the right of feeding his sheep on the hill-side. It was carefully pointed out that the present gallows are leaning at a perilous angle; and eager expectations are arising.

M. GILLET.

PENTYRE,

WINCHESTER ROAD, ANDOVER.

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#### BOUNDARY-STONES IN JERSEY.

In Jersey stones set up to mark a boundary were seldom worked apparently, any rough and heavy stone being deemed good enough for the purpose. But to avoid confusion with other ordinary stones, three small stones, called *les temoins*, were placed under the boundary-stone. These small stones represented the Trinity, and over them the Rector of the Parish, the old administrative unit, recited a formula of dedication, which included the words, "In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost." Obviously anyone removing his neighbour's landmark incurred thereby the guilt of sacrilege.

H. A. ROSE.

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#### EARS SLIT TO MAKE BABIES CLEVER.

THE custom of slitting a baby's ear "to make it bright and lively" is still practised in many parts of Wales, especially in the south. Dr. Arthur Hughes, the medical officer of health for Carmarthenshire, speaking at a meeting of the Pontardulais (South Wales) Maternity and Child Welfare Centre, protested against the practice, which is known as "*torri llech*." The custom, he said, should have been stamped out at the same time as witchcraft and fortune-telling. Sir Vincent Evans, the noted Welsh antiquarian, states that the exact translation of the words "*torri llech*" was "cutting a slit." A Welshman resident in London said the practice was a common one in his boyhood, particularly in the remote rural districts, but some-

times also in the towns. He added : " If any one was slow at his work, the critics would always remark, ' You couldn't have had your ear slit.' I thought, however, that the custom had died down long ago."—*The Daily Express*, 14th July, 1922.

#### MIGRATORY STONES IN BANFFSHIRE.

THE " Mortar Stane " of Fordyce, Banffshire, on Hogmanay night is carried by the youths of the village and placed at the door of that young woman whom they wish to see married in the course of the year. In *The Scotsman* of March 29th, 1920, is a letter by " R. F.," giving a fuller description of the stone and the ceremony.

" Every year at Yuletide," he writes, " the young men gather and deposit the old freestone at the door of one of the maidens of the village, selected by vote, and it sits there till next Yuletide. Its virtue is to bring marriage to the maiden during the year ; or, put another way, that she is to have preference over all the other maidens in the village.

" The ceremony is old, beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitants, and is still regularly observed. As a scholar, I have participated in the scenes, which I must confess were very rough and noisy—the stone being conveyed in a farm cart, conscripted for the occasion, and pulled by scores of young men. Generally a fiddler was placed on the stone in the cart, and made music for the crowd. Fiddler, fiddle, and the stone were simultaneously dumped down at the door of the selected house. After the ceremony was complete, the cart was taken to the top of a steep brae and sent down into the burn, where the unhappy owner could find it next day. I am informed that now the ceremony is carried through, at the sight of the village constable, with more decorum.

" The original stone was thrown into a deep quarryhole some years ago by some youths, and a substitute had to be found ; but the ladies insisted on the quarry being drained, and the original ' Mortar Stane ' recovered and restored to its historical place."

Now this Scots stone is a stone of commendation or praise. But in France in 1918 I came across a French stone of accusation and blame.

Some kilometres to the west of the well-known twin towers of Mont St. Eloi, that outstanding and far-seen ancient ruin on a commanding site near Arras, is a village called Gauchin le Gal (*le galet*, or, *patois*, *le gal*, the stone). I went there one day, on duty, to look over the sanitation of the place, but found that, as is usual in a French village, there was not much of that sort of thing to see. Standing, however, in the little *place*, amongst a collection of motor lorries and wagons, were two stones evidently of great age. One, upright like a milestone, had an iron staple let into the top of it; while the other, the shape and size of a large Dutch cheese, had a slice taken off one end. Into the flat surface of the sliced end another staple was fixed, and a small cross was rudely carved beside it. I called on the village schoolmaster to ask about them. "The stones? Ah, yes! There was a foolish old story about these stones."—"Could he tell it to me?"—"But, yes, if Monsieur cared for these things. He had it written down some years ago in a little manuscript book." So with his permission I copied it, sitting at one of the small schoolroom desks. And this was the story.

"On the village square there is to be seen a large round stone chained to an upright stone of sandstone. Various explanations have been given of these stones. The first is that in an ancient fight between two noblemen one made a prisoner of the other, and to perpetuate the remembrance of his victory the upright stone was erected to represent the victor, and the round stone chained to it to represent the vanquished. Another version is that the conquered nobleman was made prisoner and tied to a post in the market-place, where he remained exposed to the public till he died, and hence the small cross that can be seen near the fastening of the round stone. Yet another story exists, which does not redound to the credit of the ladies of the commune who lived in those far-off days, for it says explicitly that this accursed round stone used to go at night and knock at the doors of husbands whose wives were unfaithful to them. As a large number of households were disturbed in this way, the

authorities decided to stop the wandering habits of the stone by chaining it up. Since then the inhabitants of the village sleep in peace. Nowadays one would not be afraid to unchain the stone, for unfaithful wives are now rare in this countryside, and the stone would have little opportunity of resuming its old occupation."

A pretty little tale which it behoved the schoolmaster, as schoolmaster, to call a "foolish old story." But enquiry later amongst the peasants revealed more. For the worthy man's little manuscript book had been written before the war, and while "the accursed round stone" was still chained. When I saw it, it was once again unchained and had been since 1914. Various French troops had been billeted in the village at the commencement of the war, and one lady there had been, to put it mildly, more popular than virtuous. Whereupon some of the scandalised inhabitants took the old round stone, broke its chain, and laid it by night on her doorstep as a delicate and many centuries old hint to mend her ways. She, and some of her *bons amis*, naturally annoyed by this advertisement, seized the nocturnal visitor and buried it in the back garden. But the other inhabitants, indignant at this insult to the ancient guardian of public morals, had gone to the Maire, who had ordered the culprits to disinter it and publicly replace it in the market-place. And in the market-place it stood when I saw it, a tabloid kirk-session once more to pillory "lights-o'-love."

DAVID RORIE, M.D.

Lieutenant-Colonel, R.A.M.C.(T.)

Cults,  
Aberdeenshire.

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#### BELIEFS REGARDING DEATH.

In reading the communication in *Folk-Lore*, xxxi., p. 154, by Mr. J. W. Halton, about "Beliefs regarding Death in Cumberland," I see that he remarks that he has never noticed the plate of salt placed on one breast of a dead woman, though it is a common practice in regard to a dead *man*. It might, perhaps,

interest Mr. Halton and others to know that I can, as a small child, clearly remember an instance where this singular rite was performed on the body of a woman.

My father, the Rev. G. W. Berkeley, then vicar of Burleigh, Somerset, himself saw a plateful of salt on the breast of a very old woman, by name "Mary Anne Talbot," one of his parishioners. He was ignorant of the significance of the custom; but I believe that the dead woman's daughter explained that the salt was put there "to scare the Devil away." Mrs. Talbot died about twenty or five-and-twenty years ago, and I have not heard of another instance among the people of Burleigh, though doubtless there were others. I have heard that in the neighbouring parish of Kingweston a plate of salt was placed on the chest of a man who died of pneumonia. His family charged the vicar's wife with his death, as she had insisted on his bed being moved out of the draught. The only other place where it could stand was under a cross-beam, and it was believed fatal for a sick person to lie under such a beam.

As to the *raison d'être* of the plate of salt, I have heard it suggested that it is connected with sin-eating, and is the final preparation for the visit of the Sin-eater. Sir G. L. Gomme confirms this in *Ethnology in Folk-Lore*, where (p. 118) he quotes from Napier's *Folk-Lore of the West of Scotland*, where the Sin-eater is described as eating salt and bread from a plate set on the chest of the corpse. I do not know whether one can infer from this that sin-eating was ever in vogue among the Somerset folk as late as 1895 or thereabouts; it seems more likely that the custom is merely a survival.

Another strange superstition concerning death, still prevalent among the people of Burleigh, is that the striking of the church clock during the singing of a hymn foretold a death within the week. Curiously enough the coincidence occurred quite often enough to impress the fact on the local mind, and I have often seen the congregation turn horrified faces on each other when the clock struck during a hymn. So far as I can gather, this is not a very widely spread belief in Somerset, but is local to one or two places. I have not come across it in Dorset, though I believe it is not quite unknown in the Eastern Counties.

I should be glad if any readers of *Folk-Lore* could quote parallel instances, or throw any light upon the origin or meaning of the belief.

MARY A. BERKELEY.

Cranborne, nr. Salisbury.

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#### THE JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY.

THE Gypsy Lore Society, which did valuable work in exploring the origins, beliefs and customs of this interesting race, was discontinued during the Great War. We are glad to announce that the publication of its *Journal* has now been revived under the editorship of Mr. E. O. Winstedt, 181 Ifley Road, Oxford. Mr. F. Shaw, 7 Macdonald Road, Friern Barnet, London, N. 11, being the Honorary Treasurer. The fifth number contains a remarkable article by Mr. T. W. Thompson on "The Unclean-ness of Women among English Gypsies." This extends to the sex not only at certain periodical seasons, but applies to the touch or even the presence of women on various occasions. The article describes a number of instances of this remarkable custom, and it deserves the attention of all those who are interested in the question of Taboo.

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## REVIEWS.

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THE ANCIENT WORLD. LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF ROMAN RELIGION. By WILLIAM REGINALD HALLIDAY. Liverpool: The University Press of Liverpool. 1922.

PROFESSOR HALLIDAY has rendered a notable service to the study of institutions in publishing his lectures on the history of Roman religion from Numa to Augustus. A lucid presentment of that chapter in the evolution of religious legalism was sadly needed. The late Dr. Warde Fowler's *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, with his other writings, is a book for scholars. What was wanted was a book for investigators. As in so many fields of anthropology we are in danger of not being able to see the wood for the trees, and Professor Halliday enables us to view the wood. It is not his fault that when we do so it seems, at least to the present writer, to consist of petrified trunks, thus deepening the impression left by Warde Fowler and Mr. J. B. Carter. To one accustomed to the vivid faiths of India, it is almost incredible that any people ever lived for long under the coldly neutral administration of the Roman *numina*. It is unfortunate that so little is known of the popular faiths of ancient Italy. All that we seem to know is that Rome from her foundation held a very exceptional position, and that we have few or no records of anything but her official religion. That religion was exclusively administered and rigidly controlled by the State. It is as if the makers of the Republican Constitution had had some bitter experiences or traditions of the evils which may ensue from the excesses of emotional religion, and had resolved that, whatever happened, they would not stand any hysterical nonsense in the citizens of the commonwealth, not even amongst the womenfolk.

But it is not much use to speculate on what we do not know. It is more profitable to dwell on what has come down to us. And that is instructive enough. In Rome, Religion and Law were run, so to speak, by two great Departments. But they were not run on quite the same lines. While the secular authorities were all appointed for strictly limited periods, the heads of the Ministry of Religion held office for life. While the Romans had no professional lawyers, in the modern sense, the *pontifex maximus* and the *rex sacrorum* were permanent officials, and the *augures* were professionals. But the board of *pontifices* was not composed of professed *religieux*, and though its members held their religious appointments for life they could also be elected to secular offices. Not so the *flamines*, though their ineligibility was apparently due rather to the various taboos imposed on them than to any sanctity inherent in their persons. Then again, religious procedure differed in some ways from legal. "The actual right of observation of the signs (*spectio*) was confined to the secular magistrate" (p. 74). The function of the augurs was that of skilled interpreters of the signs so observed. This reminds us of the *formula* system, but in that the *praetor* first settled the law, and then sent the case to a *judex* to come to a finding on the facts—almost the converse of the augur's duty. But in one respect the Romans developed their religious beliefs much in the same way as they evolved what is now known as Roman Law. They did not build up a higher faith on the foundations of the old, but imported new gods whenever the interests of the State dictated that remedy, just as later on in their history they borrowed freely from the *jus gentium* to remodel and largely transform many of the fundamental principles of the XII. Tables, if indeed we can claim to say that those principles or their amendments under the Republic have come down to us in anything like a complete and trustworthy form.

But let us turn to one of the best features in Roman public religion, its regard for the sanctity of a treaty. The Romans prided themselves on the confidence which other peoples had in their plighted word, and yet we find that this insistence on the *fides romana*, and the deification of Fides herself, did not

deter the Roman State from the practice of the *evocatio*. Put plainly, that was bribing the gods of an enemy to desert him. Now the custom of stealing a hostile god may have been quite respectable in antiquity, but it does not suggest that a nation which observed it had a lofty conception of the divine nature. Moreover, the very formula of the *evocatio* used against the Carthaginian gods hints that it was a poor form of *ruse de guerre*. The Roman offer is addressed to all the gods and goddesses of the Punic city, especially to its guardian deity, but no name is mentioned. With official caution all risk of a mistake is avoided, perhaps, but it is not inconceivable that the Roman Foreign Office suspected that the real name of the tutelary god of Carthage was a State secret and judged it best to address him as "*teque maxime, ille qui urbis huius populique tutelam recepisti*", instead of committing itself to the use of a title which might have been put forward with intent to mislead. But if that were so, why did not the Romans themselves keep the real name of the tutelary god a secret? And of what benefit could the *evocatio* be if the Punic government could so easily retaliate with an *evocatio* of its own? No hint exists apparently that any steps were taken at Rome to counter such reprisals in kind. Yet the wizard who deals in spells cannot be regarded as fully proficient in his art if he is unable to protect you by counter-spells. All that we can say is that the Veiians seem to have made no secret of the name of their goddess, Juno Regina, and that their counter-*evocatio*, if they used one, was a failure. But we may also infer that the Roman saw nothing at all wrong in the nature of a god who would accept a bribe.

Professor Halliday with much reason dissents from Warde Fowler's view that the worship of Jupiter may be a survival of an aboriginal monotheism. The available facts are hardly consistent with such a theory. And, if it were well-founded, how is it that the Roman statecraft did not seek to recreate for the Roman world a monotheistic cult which would have appealed to all its subjects, just as the conception of Zeus was used or sought to be used to awake a sense of national unity in the Hellenistic world? It is hard to think that Rome missed so great an opportunity. But, in fact, they never got beyond

Jupiter Latiaris, the territorial god of Latium, or, to be more accurate, of the Latin League. His jurisdiction never extended further, not even over all Italy. At his zenith he became the god of justice and the power which sanctioned the observance of treaties, giving the subject nations a guarantee of their strictly legal rights under their pacts with Rome, but always reserving her political supremacy. Professor Halliday, on the other hand, accepts the usual rendering of his cult-title *optimus-maximus* as "best and greatest," but the term *optimus* may, especially in religious law, have simply meant 'overmost' or 'upmost,' retaining its most probable original meaning. It need not necessarily have connoted any idea of 'goodness,' or even of 'kindness.' As to the older cult-titles, it is by no means certain that *feretrius* meant "the god of the thunder-bolt." The ancients themselves were at issue as to the derivation of that term. It might almost be suggested that it denoted "he who was struck," if Livy is right in defining *elicius* as "he who is called forth." That Jupiter was popularly worshipped as a concrete object is fairly certain from his cult-name of Lapis, though it does not appear that the *lapis manalis* was regarded as Jupiter. In time of drought a procession of matrons with bare feet accompanied by the magistrates without the insignia of their office escorted that stone to Jupiter Elicius on the Aventine, where water was ceremonially poured over it. This seems to hint that the magistrates were acting unofficially in this magical rite, though they were prepared to concede something to popular beliefs in time of dire need. Was this *superstitio*? It is not so described. And the depth of our ignorance about the religious mentality of early Rome is such that we do not even know what *superstitio* originally meant. Perhaps we may take it that the State evolved the *ius divinum*, but was not unwilling to fuse into it a certain amount of traditional lore which the folk regarded as "testimony," the most likely root-idea in *superstitio*. But the principles on which the official guardians of Roman sacred law proceeded are still a mystery. It is difficult to feel convinced that even so conservative a class preserved so many fertility festivals. Take, for instance, the Cerealia, in which the main rite consisted in tying lighted brands

to the tails of foxes and turning them loose, a device, it has been suggested, for securing heat for the growing crops. In an Italian April heat would hardly be a normal need. But in an arid plain crops just harvested or even not yet cut are very liable to destruction by fire, and the story of Samson (*Judges*, 15) shows that burning an enemy's standing corn by this means was a recognised measure of war or revenge. If April 19th was rather too early to fit this theory, surely the Volcania fell too late (after the middle of August) to support Warde Fowler's conjecture that its object was to propitiate the fire-spirit at a time when the heat of the sun might be dangerous to the freshly-gathered crops. Was it a thank-offering for their preservation against enemy action? Or did early agricultural practice inculcate the burning off of the stubble after the harvest? We want a careful collation of the Roman festivals with the seasonal husbandry of the Campagna. And it may be questioned whether philology has said its last word on the names of the *numina*. If Vesta was a *numen*, why do we have Janus and not Janua? It is Professor Halliday's great merit that his book stimulates thought and indicates to the student so many lines upon which his investigations might be profitably pursued.

H. A. ROSE.

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EMMANUEL COSQUIN. LES CONTES INDIENS ET L'OCCIDENT :  
 PETITES MONOGRAPHIES FOLKLORIQUES À PROPOS DE  
 CONTES MAURES RECUEILLIS À BLIDA PAR M. DESPARMET.  
 OUVRAGE POSTHUME. Paris : Edouard Champion. 1922.

THIS is the last work that we shall have the privilege of receiving from the wide learning and facile pen of the regretted author of the *Contes Populaires de Lorraine*. He had begun to publish it piecemeal before his death in the *Revue des Traditions populaires*. Unfortunately he died and left it unfinished; and his friends, thinking rightly that it may be interesting as well as useful to students of the same subjects, have determined to republish it as a whole, imperfect as it is without his final observations and the summing up of his lifelong researches on the subject of the

migration of folk-tales, as he had intended, for which in any case they were now condemned to wait in vain.

The starting-point of the work was a collection of stories brought home from Blida by his friend M. J. Desparmet, *professeur agrégé* of Arabic at the Lycée of Algiers. An examination showed that many of these stories were similar to tales already received and propagated in Europe. He held that all these stories had come from India, and his exegesis is based upon that belief and intended to prove it. He takes the opportunity to include in his survey many tales of which in his earlier researches he was ignorant, and many, indeed, which had not been collected and published until within comparatively recent years, since his collection of tales from Lorraine had been completed and published. For example, it may be mentioned the considerable use he makes of the valuable and varied collection of folk tales, published by Dr. Crooke in the *North Indian Notes and Queries*, which he founded and conducted so brilliantly during the last years of his sojourn in India. It is well known that M. Cosquin's theory was an extension and adaptation of that originally propounded by the great Sanskrit scholar, Benfey, who thought that the whole stock of Europeo-Asiatic *märchen* was due to the Buddhist Jātaka, the stories of the Buddha's previous lives as formulated by his early disciples, and that these stories found their way first to adjacent countries, and ultimately wherever the Buddhist missionaries travelled. But this theory did not fit all the facts. For there were some stories which did not appear to have been known in India so early, but were known in Europe. M. Cosquin therefore dropped the ascription to a Buddhist origin; he was satisfied if he could trace the tales in any way or at any time to India. And in this Dr. Crooke's collection helped him considerably, for he has thereby been able to show that many tales which he was not aware of are, in the present day at all events, current in India.

In this volume M. Cosquin has energetically pursued all-over the area his new supply of folk tales, and incidentally has been able to improve the occasion by recalling some tales already dealt with, and propping up his previous contention with new and important evidence. The late Joseph Jacobs was a

convinced believer in Benfey's theory. But he abandoned it as regarded Cinderella. For he wrote in *Folk-Lore* in 1894: "As regards the vexed question of an Indian origin, Cinderella is especially unfortunate as a test case, since India is essentially a shoeless country, and the characteristic incident of the tale in its present form is the shoe test. We need not therefore be surprised that Miss Cox's collection gives a negative result as regards India." But now M. Cosquin has discovered to his pleasure, by the assistance of friends who know India and its literature well, that Mr. Jacobs was quite wrong, and that both in ancient and modern times shoes have been known in that country. He employs almost twenty pages in discussing the various kinds of shoes and their names and uses, and in demonstrating beyond all dispute that they were familiar objects even in Buddhist times, and were mentioned in the Buddhist Jātaka and in the Rāmāyana and other ancient works. It is indeed a triumph, for it enables M. Cosquin to show that there is no insuperable difficulty in bringing Cinderella by the Buddhist propaganda from India, though, as a matter of fact, whether it was so brought, and in those times, is another question and one on which M. Cosquin does not seem able to enlighten us. At all events I believe I am right in saying that it has only been found there in quite modern times.

It does not follow because we know that a certain number of tales did come in ancient times on the waves of the Buddhist propaganda, that therefore the whole stock must have come then and in that way. One thing research has made clear: there has been throughout historic time a commerce in tales in Europe and Asia, and it is probable that tales have exchanged hands in both directions; perhaps as many tales have been taken to India as have been received from it, for it is inconceivable that India is the only manufactory of tales and that none have been sent forth from Egypt, from the Teutonic or the Finnish north, from Greece and all the other countries which we know to have been the homes of mythology as fertile and striking as that of India. The story of the faithful hound Gelert appears in the Panchatantra, where an ichneumon figures as the faithful hound and its enemy as a serpent, and in a Chinese Buddhist

work translated from some Indian work (perhaps from the Sanskrit), where the faithful animal is a mongoose; but, as Sir James Frazer noted more than twenty years ago, it had appeared two hundred years earlier in Pausanias, and located at Amphibia in Phocis, where the serpent and the hound had changed rôles. The borrowing by India which thus took place in the case of what looked like a typical Buddhist tale may have happened again and again.

So the story of Whittington and his cat was traced by Ralston and Clouston more than forty years ago as far as Persia, and they concluded on very insufficient grounds that it was originally from India and Buddhist India. M. Cosquin has now been able to trace it to India, but not to ancient times or Buddhist influences. The earliest date which he has been able to assign to any Indian allusion to the story is in a reference in a book of stories said to belong to the year 1600, at a time when it had already been known in Europe for three centuries, in fact long before Sir Richard Whittington was born. If this be good enough evidence to prove India the native home of the tale it will prove anything.

There is another tale which M. Cosquin exerts himself to prove had an Indian origin: the tale of Smewittchen (Grimm, No. 53), in which a lady, seeing in winter time a fall of snow, drops three drops of her blood upon it and wishes for a child white as the snow and red as blood. Though, however, he has searched Indian tales and spent many pages in proving that an Indian origin was not impossible, since India was well acquainted with snow (on her mountains), and in spite of the fact that it was well known in Europe since the twelfth century, where it is first mentioned by Chrétien de Troyes in the *Conte du Graal*, he is obliged in the end to admit that he has not been able to find the incident in any Indian tale; and he tries to console himself by saying that it will no doubt be found some day. This is not a very satisfactory conclusion for so valiant and indefatigable a partisan of the Indian origin of the common stock of European folk tales.

Without pursuing this branch of M. Cosquin's enquiries further here, we have great pleasure in recording that he has



been able by his researches not only to establish the fact that many stories identical with those of Europe are found among Algerian tribes, but to suggest many new ways in which they *might have* travelled from the East, as well as sometimes to draw attention to rites and observances that are alluded to but liable to be forgotten in directing enquiries to the plot or the episodes of the tales. A striking example of these is the ritual anthropophagy practised occasionally for magical purposes and under great difficulties, arising now from police repression, by certain sects in India. The learned author has thus left anthropological scholars under a deep debt of gratitude; and whether they individually hold his theories to be proven or not, they will unite in regretting that the era of his activities is closed, and that they have nothing more to expect from the pen which, while life remained to him, was never weary in giving the world the results of his studies.

373332 E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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"THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY."

STUDENTS of Indian folklore will be interested to know that Miss M. A. Anstey has compiled an Index of Authors and their contributions to the first fifty volumes of *The Indian Antiquary*, procurable by subscribers at a cost of Rs. 2, by non-subscribers Rs. 4, from the Superintendent, *Indian Antiquary*, Mazagon, Bombay, 10. This will be followed by a Subject Index with classified headings and cross-references at the price of Rs. 4 and Rs. 5, as above.

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A SHEAF OF GREEK FOLK SONGS GLEANED BY AN OLD PHILHELLEN, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE. By COUNTESS EVELYN MARTINENGO CESARESCO. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1922. Pp. xxxii + 78.

THIS pretty little book contains more Philhellenism than folklore. The introduction is written pleasantly by a practised hand, but is more conspicuous for sensibility than sense. For

example, the innate love of animals which here appears to be attributed to the Greek peasant is not in my experience one of his salient characteristics. The folk songs which follow are for the most part well known, and many English translations already exist. The composition of such versions of familiar matter is a hobby worthy of respect, but the publication of them perhaps needs the justification of a technical excellence, which these unfortunately lack.

The task of translating reasonably well into metrical form is extremely difficult, but it can be better done. The reader who compares the translation of the well-known description of Charos on p. 31 with those in Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, p. 106, and Garnett, *Greek Folk Poetry*, I, p. 88, will find that Lawson's is very much the best of the three, while that of the old Philhellene is as indubitably the least satisfactory, whether as an exact rendering or as a piece of verse.

The technique of our author is indeed very weak. Her ear does not always tell her how many syllables her line may or must contain, and the admitted roughness of the "political" verse of popular Greek poetry will hardly excuse the irregularities of her practice. I have been unable to decide in what metre the poem on pp. 37-39 is meant to be written. "Thou, Lamprakis, my brother's son" (p. 62) can only be made to scan by mispronouncing the name, which is not, in fact, dactylic, and "I would fain mine Areté see" (p. 48) by making "see" a short and enclitic syllable. Here are two further random specimens of sadly limping verses which I have ventured to print as couplets not, following the author, in half lines.

"Hold me by the hand and raise me, and support me while I sit,

And bring good wine in plenty, let me freely drink of it (p. 7)

"Dimos? And why so sad to-day?"

"What the cause I will truly say" (p. 5).

Infelicities of vocabulary are frequent, and the translator too often attempts to meet the exigencies of metre by grammatical inversions and past tenses formed with "did." *Papadia* is

difficult to render. Miss Garnett's "parson's wife," if not perfect, is at least an English rendering of the Greek; "the wife of one of the Priesthood" (p. 32) is not.

"For human heads  
Is faith the Turk accurst" (p. 2)

is the language of "Tusherie," not that of popular poetry.

"Only tell them I have married in the sad, far, foreign state" (p. 6).

Apart from the ambiguities of our language, is "state" the *mot juste* or a possible substitute here for "land" or "country"?

W. R. HALLIDAY.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE DRAGON. By G. ELLIOT SMITH, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. Illustrated. Manchester, at the University Press. 1919.

MANCHESTER seems to be in a fair way to found a new school of Mythology. The John Rylands Lecture Series has already published five brilliant monographs by Dr. Rendel Harris—on the cults of Dionysos, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, and on the origin and meaning of Apple Cults. To these it has added the remarkable *Dreams and Primitive Culture* by Dr. Rivers, and finally the *Evolution of the Dragon* by Dr. Elliot Smith. The Manchester School has this special characteristic. Mythology used to be the special province, almost the preserve, of classical scholars seeking to elucidate mythological allusions. Mythology is now seen for what it is, a form of primitive thinking, and its study is attacked by Orientalists and men of science, psychologists and doctors; naturally the new outlook is revolutionary.

In two respects, especially, as Dr. Elliot Smith points out, this revolutionary attitude is seen. When comparative mythology first began to be studied, it became immediately evident that customs and beliefs closely analogous, seemingly identical, were observable in parts of the globe widely sundered. This by the old school of mythologists was interpreted by the fact that man's mind is much the same all over the world. Similar

causes, analogous results. The new school sees in the analogous facts not analogies but positive borrowings. The simplest invention, whether material or mental, is seen on analysis to be the result of a concatenation of events so complex that it is scarcely possible it should occur twice spontaneously. This doctrine Dr. Elliot Smith applies to the process of mummification and the complex rituals and beliefs to which the process gave rise.

The second note of the new attitude is closely linked with this first. The natural 'face' explanation of a myth or custom is, it is now seen, seldom the true one. What is natural, obvious in us now was not the natural and obvious of the primitive maker of the myth or custom. Some fifty centuries of forgetfulness have overlaid and obscured the true meaning.

No better instance could be given than that selected by Dr. Elliot Smith in *Incense and Libations*. Ask a Roman priest what is the meaning of Incense? He will tell you it is part of the regular ritual of the Mass—that it is a 'symbol' of purification—that incense mounts like prayer to heaven, directing the heart and aspirations of the worshipper and—what not these things incense may have *come to mean*, but to the priests of Pharaoh's time incense meant something much simpler and more substantial. The Egyptian mummified the corpse, and also made a portrait statue in order to preserve the moisture, the juices of life and the aroma, the smell of the living—a smell of which the Egyptian with his liberal use of perfumes and unguents was specially conscious. To supply these deficiencies he poured out libations, he burned incense, and from Egypt the custom has spread pretty well to the whole civilised world. The interpretation is made quite certain by texts from the Sabbatic Pyramids of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, first interpreted by Mr. Aylward Blackman. The corpse of the deceased is dry and shrivelled. To revivify it the vital fluids that have exuded from it in the process of mummification must be restored. Not till then will life return and the heart repeat. At first it is supposed that the libations are the actual fluids that have issued, later they are surrogates. The explanation, though at once seen to be 'natural' once

the circumstances in which the ritual arose are understood, is indeed far from obvious.

The ritual of libations shows that to the primitive Egyptian, intent on revivifying the dead king, water, moisture was regarded as the source and intimate secret of life. Such a conception was indeed natural enough to a dweller in the Nile valley, to water he owed his food, his very existence, his whole civilization. And here Dr. Elliot Smith enters a valuable and much needed protest against a common confusion of thought, the confusion between the giving of life and sexual relations, a confusion that has coarsened and distorted much mythological discussion. Because primitive thinking concerned itself with the origins of life it does not follow that it concerned itself with sexual relations. Nature has temporarily removed birth from begetting, and there are peoples still extant who do not realize the connection. It was the apotheosis of life giving as in the Pharaoh, not of sex relations that lay at the basis of the notion of divinity. This is very clearly seen in the third chapter of our treatise on the Birth of Aphrodite.

Egypt gave birth to the doctrine that water was the source of life; in other lands vegetation might grow up without the obvious and necessary need for water, but in Egypt the dead king and the living land told the same tale. But Aphrodite, mother of gods and men, was born not in Egypt but in the sea, the Red Sea, and her first visible form was the large Red Sea cowry. We find it difficult to associate the goddess of fertility with the 'unharvested sea.' Dr. Elliot Smith deals severely with the present reviewer for her attempt to wrest the goddess from the sea and make her like other of the mothers earth-born. And rightly. I take this opportunity to recant my error.<sup>1</sup> Aphrodite the foam-born is too deeply rooted in tradition to be lightly set aside. I ask pardon of the goddess, and pray to her anew with Tibullus,

Et faveas conchâ Cypria vecta tuâ.

The true explanation of the sea-born Aphrodite is very primitive, and is due to Mr. J. W. Jackson.<sup>2</sup> She is *Concha*

<sup>1</sup> *Prolegomena*, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> *Shells as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture*, p. 166.

*Venera*, i.e. the cowry. The cowry was thought of as a life-giver, a *similitudine pueri muliebris*. The most primitive observer could not avoid noting that man is born of woman; the organ of birth was the first great life-giver, but observe we are still far, farther perhaps than ever, from sexual relations, the mother stands alone with no co-partner in the act of life.

The cowry life-giver explains very charmingly an old mythological crux; the obolus of Charon. Cowries as life-giving amulets were in immense demand all about the Red Sea and far inland from its shores. The cowry as amulet became the cowry as coin of commerce. Custom at first prescribed the putting of the life-giving cowry into the mouth of the dead, to revivify them. Later it was misinterpreted as coin and became the ferryman's fee. Another instance of the futility of the 'obvious' interpretation.

The cowry fertility notion once started lent itself to many transformations—the place of the cowry was later taken by the conch shell, by the octopus, and even by the pearl, and finally, as Dr. Rendel Harris has pointed out, by the mandrake. All these in turn as surrogates of the cowry became impersonations of Aphrodite. In explaining so much that is mysterious about the mandrake, Dr. Rendel Harris leaves the dog unexplained. This feature of the tale Dr. Elliot with great probability explains as coming from the sharks and dogfish which assailed the pearl divers and seemed to be the guardians of deep-sea treasures.

We have taken Chapters I. and III. first because they really belong together, and it was an error of method to sunder them. In neither chapter is Dr. Elliot Smith original; his material has been collected and interpreted for him by Mr. Blackman and Mr. Jackson, but in both he is illuminating in his emphasis on important *origines*. In the second chapter, which gives its title to the book, we find him less convincing. We have rarely read a more confused statement of complicated facts and theories. We could say much as to his defects of method of a sort peculiarly irritating to the reviewer because involving much useless labour, but the author disarms criticism by telling us that the book was written at odd moments 'snatched from

arduous war-time occupation,' and he admits that it reveals too plainly the traces of disjointed process of composition. It does indeed, but we leave it at that and try to gather up the fragments.

The dragon is an excellent instance of a compound so complex and so arbitrary that it could scarcely have arisen independently in several places. The substratum of its anatomy consists of a serpent or a crocodile, usually with the scales of a fish and the feet and wings and sometimes the head of an eagle, falcon or hawk, the forelimbs and sometimes the head of a lion. Its leading trait is its partiality for water—it controls rivers or seas, dwells in pools or wells or in the clouds. It is not to be explained as a reminiscence of extinct monsters. It arose in the East and was primarily a power of beneficence; in the West it became mainly, though not wholly, maleficent. Tiamat is the earliest accredited form. Beginning with the Great Mother, the Dragon ended in the devil. The dragon myth developed in Egypt—from the Old World it was carried to the New. In connection with the Egyptian myth of the Destruction of Mankind, the dragon took on features of the Mother-God Hathor, the Father-God Osiris and Horus the Son-God, and a hopeless tangle was thereby evolved. This tangle we do not feel has been resolved by Dr. Elliot Smith—but he promises us further work on the subject, and to this we shall look forward now that Peace will bring him leisure.

JANE E. HARRISON.

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## **EVENING MEETING.**

**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20th, 1923**

THE PRESIDENT (MR. H. BALFOUR) IN THE CHAIR.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The re-election of Mrs. J. S. Wingate was announced.

The death of Mrs. Frida Mond and the resignations of Mrs. Jenkinson, Mr. F. W. Robertson and Mr. Stanley Hadden were also announced.

Mr. L. W. Dudley Buxton read a paper entitled "Some Navajo Folk Tales," which was profusely illustrated by lantern slides. In the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Mr. Wright and Mr. Bertram Lloyd took part.

The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Dudley Buxton for his paper.

## THE MYTH OF BALDER.

### A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE MYTHOLOGY.

SINCE the beginning of this century great progress has been made in the solution of the problems connected with the Old Teutonic Balder Myth, thanks in part to the anthropological method as it was applied to the tradition of Balder by Sir J. G. Frazer<sup>1</sup> and F. Kauffmann.<sup>2</sup> The English scholar sees in Balder a vegetation demon and the oak spirit exclusively. Kauffmann, while adopting Frazer's theory that the myth of the god's death is based upon the *märchen* motif of the extraneous soul (Life Index motif), further elaborated the thesis of the English folklorist and pointed out that the Balder Myth grew out of the Balder Rite, which was nothing but the sacrifice of the Teutonic king, a piacular sacrifice, for the purpose of propitiating the chthonic powers and of assuring the well-being of the community.

The solution of Frazer and Kauffmann does not, however, exhaust the myth and legend in their entirety; it does not sufficiently take into account that both myth and legend have a long development and that other aspects exist, which belong either to the original myth or were added to it in later stages during the long development of religious

<sup>1</sup> *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> F. Kauffmann, *Balder Mythos und Sage*, Strassburg, 1902; cf. *Literaturbl. f. germ. u. rom. Lit.*, 1903, c. 190; *Deutsche Lit.-g.*, 1903, p. 488; *Zeitsch. f. deutsche Phil.*, xxvi. 16; 23. On more recent studies on the subject cf. Gustav Neckel, *Die Ueberlieferungen vom Gotte Balder dargestellt und vergleichend untersucht*, Dortmund, 1920; cf. *Literaturbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, xliii. cc. 164 ff.

thought. There exist several points which would require further treatment and inquiry.

1. A great number of scholars have always considered Balder as a deity of light, his opponent Høðr as one of darkness, and there are undoubtedly elements in the tradition which justify such a theory.<sup>1</sup>

2. The theory of Frazer and Kauffmann does not sufficiently account for the peculiar relationship between Balder, Høðr and Nanna, and the struggle of the two gods for a woman.

3. No sufficient explanation has been given to account for the rather strange procedure of Saxo Grammaticus of using the bombast of Byzantine or Late Latin love romance in rendering an Old Scandinavian hero myth.<sup>2</sup>

4. There are traits in Balder's character which are irreconcilable, unless we assume a long development of religious thought. Partly he appears as the benign god of peace and the fruitfulness of the soil, unwarlike and in Saxo's *Gesta* even effeminate; partly he is depicted as the royal warrior who knows how to use a sword.<sup>3</sup>

5. Granting that Balder is a tree spirit, as suggested by Frazer, it is very doubtful whether he can possibly be the spirit of the oak, inasmuch as quite a number of important facts would contend against this theory.

6. There are a number of striking parallels between the Balder tradition and certain Greek legends. They have been pointed out by von Hahn<sup>4</sup> and later by S. Bugge.<sup>5</sup> The former of the two scholars saw in these similarities

<sup>1</sup> Kauffmann, pp. 1 ff., gave an outline of the development of this theory. To the names mentioned by him should be added: E. H. Meyer, *Mythologie der Germanen*, Strassburg, 1903, pp. 391 ff.; R. M. Meyer, *Allgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. on Saxo's style, Kauffmann, pp. 66 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Lokas. 27; cf. Weinhold, *Zeitsch. f. deutsches Alterthum*, vii. 38.

<sup>4</sup> *Sagwissenschaftliche Studien*, Jena, 1876, pp. 382 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Studien über die Entstehung der nordischen Götter- und Heldensagen*, übers. v. Oscar Brenner, München, 1889, pp. 85-313.

proofs of Indo-European myths which took a parallel development among the Greeks and the Teutons. Bugge, on the other hand, assumed that they represent borrowings on a large scale from Low Greek and Low Latin accounts, either made by Saxo himself or by the Vikings settled in Ireland in the ninth and tenth centuries. This theory has now generally been abandoned. Its weak points need not be discussed here. They are (1) the improbability that the Low Greek sources containing obscure pagan myths should have reached Christian Ireland; (2) the still greater unlikelihood that they should have attracted the attention of the Norsemen; (3) that the latter should have put them together like a rare mosaic so that it requires all the erudition and ingenuity of a modern scholar to disentangle them. It must, however, be admitted that some of the parallels pointed out by von Hahn and Bugge remain and that no satisfactory explanation has as yet been given.

Since it will not be practicable to take up the above-mentioned points one by one, I shall choose a different arrangement whenever it appears advisable or necessary.

The word *Balder* is thought to be connected with Lith. *baltas* = white, and is derived from a Germanic stem *bal* = bright, shining, resplendent.<sup>1</sup> There are three different interpretations of this name possible. It may refer (1) to the light of the sun; that is, Balder is a solar deity; (2) it may merely refer to the light of the bright sky, the light of day; (3) it may have reference to moral brightness, that is, purity and goodness. In regard to the last of the three interpretations, it is safe to say that, however much it may have been possible at the time when Old Norse paganism came to be replaced by Christianity, it certainly is not primitive. Primitive deities are neither moral nor immoral; they are amoral. The choice between the first two possibilities is very difficult indeed and quite insoluble at the

<sup>1</sup> E. Schröder, *Zeitsch. f. deutsches Altertum*, xxxv. 237 ff.

present state of our knowledge. The judicious remark of L. I. Farnell concerning the Greek word *φαῖβος*<sup>1</sup> should caution all mythologists; it holds true as well for the Norse equivalent of Apollo's epithet. Fortunately, a definite answer to this vexed question is for the present not necessary; but the conclusion cannot be avoided that Balder is a god of brightness and of splendour.

Among the Scandinavians, Snorri tells us, the camomile flower (*Anthemis nobilis*) was called *baldrsbróðr*.<sup>2</sup> Mogk supposes, and with a high degree of probability, it must be admitted, that the flower in question appeared to the Norsemen as an image of the sun.<sup>3</sup> If this point could be proved, Balder's character as a solar deity would be established.

Finally, the *Grimmsdal* mentions the palace of Balder and gives it the name *Breidablik*. From it he looks all over the world. No weighty conclusion can be drawn from this statement of a comparatively late Eddic poem.

In his monumental work on the vegetation spirit and his rôle in the rituals of Europe and Western Asia, Sir J. G. Frazer pointed out the important part played by the mistletoe in ancient religion and modern superstition.<sup>4</sup> He showed that the instrument of Balder's death grows on many forest trees in Scandinavia, and that there is ground to suppose that the myth goes back to a midsummer ritual, designed to make the crops grow and to ensure a plentiful harvest. If this was so, Balder himself was in all probability a tree spirit, and since of all European trees the most imposing was the oak, and since there can be no doubt that the oak was the sacred tree *par excellence* of the Indo-Europeans, it would appear that Balder was the spirit of the oak. The myth of Balder's death through the mistletoe would then have its origin in the belief that the life of the

<sup>1</sup> *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. iv. p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> *Gylfag.* cap. xxii.

<sup>3</sup> Paul's *Grundriss*, iii. 325.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* li. 76 ff.

oak was in the mistletoe and that while the mistletoe was on the tree the latter could not perish.

There are certain facts which do not agree with some of the points brought out by the English scholar. It is quite true that the oak was the sacred tree *par excellence* of the Indo-Europeans. However, when we look for the divinities with which it is connected we shall never find any which bears even a superficial likeness to Balder. In Greece, the holy oak of Dodona was the tree of Zeus. In Italy, the oak was sacred to Jupiter, whose image on the Capitol at Rome seems to have originally been a sacred oak.<sup>1</sup> In ancient Germany, the famous oak of Gaismar, in Hesse, felled by Saint Boniface, was the sacred tree of Donar, the continental equivalent of the Norse Thor. The holy oak of Romowe, in ancient Prussia, was the incarnation of the god Perkunus, and among the Slavs the oak seems to have been the sacred tree of the god Perun. Now all these divinities, the Greek Zeus, the Italian Jupiter, the German Donar, the Baltic Perkunus, and the Slavonic Perun were gods of the sky and of the thunderstorm, the chief divinities of these nations. No scholar, W. Schwartz excepted, ever proposed a connection of Balder the Beautiful, the *semideus* of Saxo Grammaticus, with the King of Olympus or of Walhall, or even with Thor, and such a connection is well-nigh impossible. Everything we know of Balder and these deities would contend against such a thesis.

But there is still another obstacle to Frazer's suggestion. The North-European mistletoe (*Viscum album*) rarely grows on oaks.<sup>2</sup> As Frazer himself points out in an appendix to his work *Balder the Beautiful*, quoting from W. Schlich, *Manual of Forestry*, IV., London, 1907, p. 412: "The common mistletoe *Viscum album*, L. lives as a semi-parasite on many conifers and broad-leaved trees, and

<sup>1</sup> Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, Berlin, 1881-3, i. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer, *op. cit.* ii. 315.

chiefly on their branches. The hosts, or trees on which it lives, are, most frequently, the apple tree, both wild and cultivated varieties; next, the silver-fir; frequently birches, poplars except aspen, limes, willows, Scots pine, mountain ash, and hawthorn; occasionally, robinia, maples, horse-chestnut, hornbeam, and aspen. It is very rarely found on oaks, but has been observed on pedunculate oak at Thornbury, Gloucestershire, and elsewhere in Europe, also on *Quercus coccinea*, Moench., and *Q. palustris*, Moench. The alders, beech and spruce appear to be always free from mistletoe, and it very rarely attacks pear trees . . ."

In 1917, J. R. Harris showed that in Greece the mistletoe was connected with Apollo and that Apollo was originally probably the spirit of the apple tree.<sup>1</sup> If this state of facts obtains in Greece, where another species of mistletoe is found (*Loranthus Europaeus*) which attacks chiefly oaks,<sup>2</sup> how far stronger is the case that Balder was *not* the oak in countries such as Northern Europe, where *Viscum album* is the only kind of mistletoe existing. Of course, if we assume that the cult of Balder arose in Central Europe and thence migrated to the North this objection would not be so strong, though in that case the oak would probably have been replaced by some other tree. At any rate, it is fairly certain that Balder was not the oak, but some other tree, most probably one of those on which *Viscum album* is known to grow most frequently.

The struggle of two gods or heroes for a woman and which ends with the death of both is by no means uncommon in the legendary history of the nations of the old world. Sophus Bugge pointed out that the struggle of Balder and Hödr has a parallel in the fight of Apollo and Idas for

<sup>1</sup> *The Ascent of Olympus*, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This kind of mistletoe is found throughout Southern Europe and as far north as Saxony, but not in Britain and Scandinavia; cf. Frazer, *op. cit.* II. 317.

Marpessa<sup>1</sup> and of Achilles and Alexander for Helen.<sup>2</sup> The examples might be multiplied. Other Greek myths relate the battle of two couples of heroes, the Dioscuri and the Apharides, for a pair of virgins, the Leukippides, which originally ended with the death of the four heroes.<sup>3</sup> The Theban legend knew of a struggle between the twins Amphion and Zethos on the one side and Lykos and Nykteus on the other.<sup>4</sup> The woman whom they fight for is Antiope, the mother of the first twin couple, the daughter and niece of the second. Another twin pair whose history bears a striking similarity to that of Amphion and Zethos is Pelias and Neleus who likewise are represented as quarrelling.<sup>5</sup> A pair of heroes, Alexander and Aeneas, abduct Helen, another pair, Menelaos and Agamemnon, lead her back.<sup>6</sup> In the *Mahābhārata* we find an episode which relates the adventures of Sundas and Upasundas, two inseparable brothers who live in perfect concord. Then the gods, to test their friendship, send a nymph of marvellous beauty. The two brothers, on seeing her, desire each the exclusive possession of the divine maiden. They fight so long and so desperately that both die. In another Hindu epic, the *Rāmāyana*, the two brothers Bālin and Sugrīvas, children of the sun and so perfectly resembling one another that it is impossible to distinguish one from the other, are intimate friends, but become bitter enemies on account of the woman Rumā. English readers are reminded of the story of Hamlet. Finally, there exist a large number of local legends, scattered all over Central and Northern Europe and which tell of a deadly fight between two brothers for the love of a woman.<sup>7</sup> One of these was known to Servius,

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 85 ff.

<sup>3</sup> S. Eitrem, *Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen*, Christiania, 1902, *Videnskabselskabets Skrifter*, II.; *Historisk-filos. Klasse*, No. 2, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 42 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.* I. c. 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> K. Müllenhoff, *Sagen, Märchen und Lieder der Herzogtümer Schleswig Holstein und Lauenburg*, Kiel, 1845, pp. 45-6, 47, 182, 188, 553; A.



the famous commentator of Virgil. He tells the following story. In Gargani summitate duo sepulchra esse dicuntur fratrum duorum, quorum cum major virginem quandam despondisset et eam minor frater conaretur auferre, armis inter se decertati sunt, ibique ad memoriam invicem inter se occidentes sepulti, quae res admirationem habet illam, qua si qui duo inter ipsam sylvam agentes iter uno impetu vel eodem momento saxa adversum sepulchra jecerint, vi nescio qua saxa separata ad sepulchra singula decidunt.<sup>1</sup> In practically all the instances cited the fighters are either brothers or near relatives of a less close degree. Saxo says nothing about a relationship between Balder and Hœr; but according to the *Snorra Edda* they are brothers.<sup>2</sup> In most of the parallels quoted it is to be noted that the hostile brothers are either twins or pairs of twins, or their twinship can be easily inferred from their great friendship and their striking similarity; in the case of the brothers in the *Mahābhārata* also from the likeness of their names. It is possible and assumed by some scholars that these fighting twin couples are a secondary development of the fighting twin brothers.<sup>3</sup> The object of their quarrel is not necessarily a woman. Other causes are adduced, for instance, the question of the succession to their father's inheritance

Kuhn und W. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, Leipzig, 1848, pp. 42, 292; A. Niederhöffer, *Mechlenburgs Volkssagen*, Leipzig, 1858-62, i. 132, ii. 157, iii. 163, iv. 160; W. Hertz, *Deutsche Sage im Elsass*, Stuttgart, 1872, p. 108. The motif of the hostile brothers is also found in modern Greece; cf. G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 290, 292.

<sup>1</sup> Comm. in Virg. *Aen.* xi. 247.

<sup>2</sup> F. Niedner, *Zeitsch. f. deutsches Altertum*, xlii. 252, points out that the songs of the *Edda Sæmundar* may likewise have known the fact that Balder and Hœr were brothers. He thinks that no conclusion can be drawn from the silence of those sources on this point; cf. also Bugge, *op. cit.* p. 262, and Detter in *Paul und Braune's Beiträge*, xix. 500.

Eitrem, p. 11.

or the paternal blessing,<sup>1</sup> or the succession to the paternal throne,<sup>2</sup> or the question as to who shall be ruler of the newly founded city,<sup>3</sup> or it is sought merely in the opposite mental disposition of the twins.<sup>4</sup> In a number of Greek legends there is evidence to show that the twin couples did not fight over a woman at all, but over a herd of cattle.<sup>5</sup> In many stories where the cause of the quarrel was originally not a woman, she is introduced later. Thus Apollodoros mentions a variant according to which Proitos seduced Danaë, the daughter of his brother and that this was the origin of their deadly feud. In the story of the enmity of Minos and Sarpedon, sons of Zeus and Europe, the brothers do not fight over a woman, but over the love of the boy Miletos. Inasmuch as the habit revealed in the story was unknown to the oldest Greeks and probably an introduction from the Orient, it is possible that Miletos took the place of a woman in the narrative.

At any rate, it is clear that the twin element plays an important rôle in connection with the motif of the hostile brothers, and this suggests the idea that they are fighting because they are twins. Such a theory is corroborated by a large number of analogues collected from all over the earth, showing that there is a wide-spread belief that twins are hostile to each other and that twin kills twin.<sup>6</sup> The presumption is therefore that Balder and Hørr are twins.

<sup>1</sup> In the story of Essu and Jacob, *Gen.* xxv. xxvii. xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> This is the case with Akrisios and Proitos; cf. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon d. griech. u. röm. Myth.* i. c. 213; also with Alrekr and Eiríkr in Norse legend; cf. Detter in *Paul und Brauns's Beitr.* xviii. 83.

<sup>3</sup> In the legend of Romulus and Remus.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. R. Harris, *Boanerges*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 159, 308, 336; M. Albert, *La Culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie*, Paris, 1883, p. 78. No explanation is given for the slaying of Iasion by his twin brother Dardanos (*Servius in Verg. Aen.* iii. 167).

<sup>5</sup> Eitrem, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Harris, *Boanerges*, pp. 86, 92, 179 f., 272, 279, 336, 381-2.

The theory that there is Dioscurism at the bottom of the Baldër Myth is in itself nothing new. It has been adopted by quite a large number of scholars who dealt with the story of Balder.<sup>1</sup> Let us say at once that with the Scandinavian material now at the disposal of the mythologists it is impossible to come to a positive result on this matter. None of the sources mentions the fact that Balder and Høðr are twins, many do not even say that they are brothers. The Dioscurism of Balder and Høðr can be established with a fair degree of probability only if it can be shown that most of the elements constituting the myth belong to a mythological or folkloristic group of motifs most, if not all, of which are connected with Dioscurism. In the following sections of this study I shall endeavour to point out a number of Greek parallels which must be considered as closely akin to, perhaps identical with the Balder Myth. I do not doubt that similar parallels can be found in the mythologies of other Indo-European nations, perhaps even among the Semites and Turanians. But I must leave all these to scholars more competent than myself.

In his work on the origin of the Balder Myth, Sophus Bugge called attention to several parallels of the Icelandic story and the narrative of Saxo with myths and legends of Greek antiquity.<sup>2</sup> Among others he compared Høðr with Paris-Alexander, Balder with Achilles, Balder with Apollo, Høðr with Idas, and Nanna with Marpessa. Since the characteristics which these heroes have in common may not be altogether fortuitous, I shall try to bring out such facts as will be likely to throw new light on the myth under discussion.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kauffmann, *op. cit.* p. 4, to which should be added: Detter, *Paul und Brauns's Beitr.* xviii. 82-8, xix. 495-516; Niedner, *Zeitsch. f. deutsches Altertum*, xlii. 229-58; E. H. Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 393 ff.; Schück, *Studier i Nordisk Litteratur- och Religionshistoria*, Stockholm, 1907, pp. 103 ff. For a comprehensive bibliography of Teutonic Dioscurism cf. K. F. Johansson, *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, xxxv. 1918, pp. 1-22.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 85-136, 201-14.

There are many data which would tend to show that Paris is but a hypostasis of Apollo himself. Achilles is foretold that he will die through an arrow of Apollo<sup>1</sup> or of Apollo and Paris.<sup>2</sup> According to some versions he is killed by Paris alone,<sup>3</sup> according to others by Paris with the bow of Apollo.<sup>4</sup> Some sources say that Paris shot the arrow, but that Apollo directed it so that it hit Achilles.<sup>5</sup> Then there are accounts which relate that Apollo assumed the shape of Paris when killing Achilles.<sup>6</sup> Quite a number of versions agree in saying that the Grecian hero met his fate in the sanctuary of Apollo.<sup>7</sup> According to Dracontius,<sup>8</sup> Apollo induces the Trojans to receive Paris in their city, when he returns from his flock, in spite of the sinister omens that accompany his entry.

There exists a representation of the famous judgment of Paris in which the judge is not the Trojan prince, but Apollo himself,<sup>9</sup> and there is sufficient evidence to show that this representation is not due to the caprice of some artist, but was based on a sufficiently old and trustworthy tradition.<sup>10</sup> Gardner thinks that a shifting of the tradition took place and that Apollo came to take the place of Paris.<sup>11</sup> Harris, on the other hand, inclines to believe that the shifting is in the opposite direction and that Apollo was replaced by Paris.<sup>12</sup> However this may be, it is certain

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* xxi. 277; *Soph. Philoct.* 332; *Aesch. fragm.* 340; *Horat. Od.* iv. 6. 3; *Quintus Smyrna.* iij. 1 ff.; cf. *Roscher, op. cit.* i. 1, c. 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Ovid. Metam.* xiii. 500.

<sup>3</sup> *Eurip. Androm.* 655; *Hek.* 387 f.; *Plut. Comp. Lys. cum Sulla*, 4; *Plut. Q. Symp.* ix. 13. 2; *Seneca, Troad.* 356; *Eustath. Schol. Od.* 1696; cf. *Roscher*, i. 1, c. 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Eustath. Schol. Od.* 1696.

<sup>5</sup> *Virgil, Aen.* vi. 57; *Ovid, Metam.* xii. 600.

<sup>6</sup> *Hygin. fab.* 107, 113.

<sup>7</sup> *Tzetx. Lyk.* 307; cf. also *Roscher*, i. 1, cc. 49-50.

<sup>8</sup> *De raptu Hel.* 61 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* xxxv. 1915, pp. 66-75.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 69.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *The Ascent of Olympus*, p. 44.

that hero and god must bear some similarity to make it possible that the one took the other's place in the legend of the Judgment and that of Achilles' death.

It is certain that Apollo, whatever may have been his origins, was largely a god of light and brightness at the classical period and continued so until the end of paganism. It is to be noted that such a stage appears to have existed for Paris, too, irrespective of the furthest origin of the hero. Uschold derived the name from the root *pa*.<sup>1</sup> Usener was of the same opinion, declaring the name as meaning the "shining one."<sup>2</sup> Cox considered Paris as a solar hero.<sup>3</sup>

It has never been pointed out, to my knowledge, that the two opponents Paris and Achilles are by no means as dissimilar as they appear at first sight. Of the Trojan prince tradition reports that he was a rather soft, even effeminate hero, fond of music,<sup>4</sup> a good orator,<sup>5</sup> agile<sup>6</sup> and, above all, what is commonly called a "lady-killer." Nevertheless, he is by no means a coward, for there are enough episodes in the *Iliad* and elsewhere, showing him in no mean rôle.<sup>7</sup> Now some of these very characteristics are found in Achilles. I shall here sum them up, giving the necessary references in the footnotes. In the *Iliad* he is depicted as spending whole days on the shore of the sea singing and playing on the phorminx.<sup>8</sup> This predilection is also mentioned by the commentators of Homer, who evidently drew on ancient sources.<sup>9</sup> Even after his death he is addicted to song and music on the lonely island in the Euxine sea, where his soul has found a resting-place.<sup>10</sup> A general softness of character is clearly discernible in the

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Roscher, iii. 1, c. 1581.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* iii. 52-5; Bugge, p. 86.

<sup>5</sup> *Il.* iii. 39; Bugge, p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* v. 370; Malalas, i. 106; Bugge, p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> Roscher, iii. 1, cc. 1599-1600. In the *Iliad* there is a certain inconsistency in the accounts of Paris' character.

<sup>8</sup> *Il.* ix. 186 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Schol. *Il.* ix. 186 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Philostr. *Her.* 747.

hero. He easily bursts into tears,<sup>1</sup> and he bears with pain his fate which withheld from him the joys of a peaceful life in the circle of a family.<sup>2</sup> This softness and effeminacy is most strongly brought out in the famous Deidamia episode, where he appears in woman's dress. It may be objected that this is a late invention; but on the other hand it may be said that this episode could become attached only to a soft hero. Finally, there is enough evidence to show that if Paris was successful with the fair sex, Achilles had no special reason to be jealous of him.<sup>3</sup> I intentionally omit the beauty of both Paris and Achilles, because this trait is too much of a commonplace to be profitably used in this examination. Mention must however be made of the fact that a great many scholars considered Achilles a hero of light and brightness, "light" taken in its widest sense as referring to any phenomenon connected with the change of day and night. Fick connected the name with ἀχλύς—the "dark one."<sup>4</sup> Sonne considered Achilles a god of light in general and translated his name by "shining brightly."<sup>5</sup> Max Müller thought him identical with the Hindu solar hero Ahargu.<sup>6</sup> Gerhard assumed a double nature of the hero; according to him Achilles was a god of floating light, a stream of light and a reflection of the sun god himself.<sup>7</sup> Again it is likely that in the development of religious thought, a stage, and a rather important one, must be assumed where Achilles was conceived as a hero of light, perhaps a solar hero. This would make him still more decisively a counterpart of Paris whom he resembles in so many other respects. What has been established so far, then, is the likelihood that both Paris and Achilles are heroes of light and that the former is distinctly a hypostasis of Apollo, the god of brightness.

Achilles is, however, not the only opponent whom

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* i. 349; xxiv. 507.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* ix. 397.

<sup>3</sup> Roscher, *l.* i, cc. 14 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* c. 65.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

Apollo is given in Greek legend. There existed a myth or cycle of myths narrating the fight between Apollo and the hero Idas. One story tells that both Apollo and Idas woo Marpessa, the daughter of Euenos. Idas abducts her and reaches Messenia. There Apollo tries to take his wife from him. He resists, and a struggle threatens to break out, when Zeus interferes and decides that the damsel is to have her choice as to whom she will follow. She prefers the mortal, as she is afraid that the immortal will leave her when she grows old.<sup>1</sup> According to Homer<sup>2</sup> Apollo succeeds in taking Marpessa away from Idas and enjoys her for some time until Idas wins her back for himself. A version also appears to have existed according to which Apollo violates Marpessa.<sup>3</sup>

Let us examine the nature of Idas.<sup>4</sup> In most legends he appears as the son of Aphareus and the twin brother of Lynkeus. Both are called the Apharides and are together engaged in quite a number of adventures, such as the hunt of the Calydonian boar and the Argonaut expedition. Idas and Lynkeus are perfectly clear names, meaning the "seeing one" and the "shining one."<sup>5</sup> This fact and their fight for the Leukippides<sup>6</sup> make it evident that they are a pair of heroes of light and brightness.<sup>7</sup> The fight of one or two pairs of twins for a woman is a wide-spread motif in Greek legend, as can be seen from the examples given above. This and the fact that the tale of Marpessa is the only one of the Idas myths in which this hero is not associated with Lynkeus but with Apollo, make it likely that either he or Apollo did not play a part in the original story, that either one was introduced later to replace Lynkeus or some counterpart, perhaps twin, of Apollo. The character of both Lynkeus and Apollo and their

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.* i. 7, 8 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* ix. 564.

<sup>3</sup> Clemens Alex. *protr.* p. 9, 32.

<sup>4</sup> Roscher, ii. 1, cc. 96-103; Eitrem, pp. 7-12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 7, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

counterparts as heroes of light and brightness made such a substitution possible. The struggle between Idas and Apollo is then a Dioscuric myth, replacing an older one which in all probability was likewise Dioscuric. This leads us to suspect that a similar state of things exists or rather existed for the fighting pair Paris-Apollo and Achilles, that is, that both or either one took the place of some Dioscuric heroes or hero. To prove this thesis the following facts must be established :

1. That there are traces of Dioscurism in the myths of Apollo,
2. that Paris is a Dioscure,
3. that Achilles is a Dioscure,
4. that Achilles and Paris are fighting for the same woman.

All these facts can be proved with a fair degree of certainty.

The twinship of Apollo and Artemis is a fact well known to all students of Greek mythology. Less known is the fact that this twinship and even the relationship of the two deities as brother and sister does not belong to the oldest stratum of Greek religion but is a later development caused by several circumstances. Long before Delos became a centre of the Apollo cult, the White Maidens of the North, Hyperoche and Laodike,<sup>1</sup> were worshipped there. Apollo was called Phœbus and Artemis Phœbe. But Phœbe was also one of the Leukippides worshipped in Sparta in olden times. The theory is that Hilaira and Phœbe were replaced by Phœbus and Phœbe, and that these names were later attributed to Apollo and Artemis, younger deities who took the place of the older twins.<sup>2</sup> Pausanias relates that upon the approach of the Gauls to Delphi, two male brothers, Hyperochos and Laodokos, the male counterparts of the

<sup>1</sup> Herod. iv. 33 ; cf. Harris, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, Cambridge, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 139



Delian White Maidens from the North, repelled the barbarians and saved the sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> At Delphi a cult of two heroes, Phylakos and Autonooos, was localized, and there existed a legend according to which they had saved the sanctuary from the Persians.<sup>2</sup> Both pairs are undoubtedly Dioscuric.<sup>3</sup> The name Phylake was later given to Artemis, which again seems to indicate that Apollo and his twin sister took the place of an older Dioscuric pair.<sup>4</sup> Harris furthermore points out that many of the functions generally attributed to the Dioscuri were exercised by Apollo and Artemis.<sup>5</sup>

The Dioscuric character of Paris-Alexander was recognized by Eitrem,<sup>6</sup> who mentions the following data. In company with Aeneas, Paris abducts Helen.<sup>7</sup> This pair then plays the same rôle as Theseus and Peirithoos, Idas and Lynkeus,<sup>8</sup> Agamemnon and Menelaos in the Helen legends, Amphion and Zethos in the Theban legend, and the Apherides and Dioscuri in the abduction of the Leukippides.

Achilles likewise was a Dioscure. Tradition narrates that after his death the hero's soul was relegated to an island in the Euxine sea, Leuke, near the mouths of the Danube. Here he was the object of a widely known cult.<sup>9</sup> This cult and the legends told of Achilles are decidedly Dioscuric in character. The Euxine sea was generally known by the dangers which beset navigation along its shores. The region near the mouths of the Danube, best known through Ovid's *Tristia*, was especially dangerous

<sup>1</sup> *Descr. Gr.* x. 23. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. viii. 35-9.

<sup>3</sup> Harris, *Cult.* p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Boanerges*, p. 319.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Proklos, *Chrest.* lib. i.; cf. Kinkel, *Ep. gr. fragm.* 1, p. 17; Dictys, i. 3; Dares, c. 9. 38.

<sup>8</sup> Plut. *Thesur.* xxxi.

<sup>9</sup> Eurip. *Androm.* 1260; Pind. *Nem.* 4. 79; Skyl. ed. Klaus., p. 209; Demetr. Calatian. ap. Skymn. *Peripl. Ponti Eux.* 21.

on account of the sandbars and the barbarian inhabitants of the shores.<sup>1</sup> The spirit of the hero was said to announce to the shipwrecked at what spot of the island they had better land.<sup>2</sup> Or he appeared to the sailors in their dreams to point out to them the place best fitted for anchorage.<sup>3</sup> Also he was seen in the company of Patroklos. Some saw him sitting on the main mast or on the tip of the yard. He used to appear as a handsome young man with blond hair and shining armour.<sup>4</sup> The wide flat shores near the mouths of rivers were called the race courses of Achilles.<sup>5</sup> He was honoured as a protector of sailors, and as such his cult was established in many islands of the Euxine sea, in seaports along the coast of Asia Minor and Greece proper,<sup>6</sup> on Astypalaea, one of the Sporades,<sup>7</sup> and Achillea, an island near Samos, in the Aegean.<sup>8</sup> Ἀχιλλεῖος λιμὴν was the name of a port near the Tainaron, now the Bay of Marinari.<sup>9</sup> In all these cults the hero's relationship to the water and the sea is clearly recognizable. According to some sources he took part in the battle fought between the Lokri and the Krotoniates on the bank of the river Sagra, in 560 B.C.<sup>10</sup> Later he repelled, in company with Athene, Alarich from the walls of Athens.<sup>11</sup> Now all these traits are generally attributed to the Dioscuri. They are the helpers of shipwrecked mariners; they have sanctuaries on dangerous spots along the coast line or on islands, near the mouths of rivers and wherever there is special danger.<sup>12</sup> The Dioscuri appear on the masts of ships, a phenomenon now

<sup>1</sup> Roscher, i. 1, c. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Phil. Her. 748.

<sup>3</sup> Arrian, *Peripl.* 34; *Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 399, ed. Müller.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Schol. Apollon. Argon.* ii. 658.

<sup>6</sup> Roscher, i. 1, cc. 59-61.

<sup>7</sup> Cicero, *De nat. deor.* iii. 18. 45.

<sup>8</sup> Pliney, *Hist. nat.* v. 37.

<sup>9</sup> Paus. *Descr. Gr.* iii. 25. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Schol. Plat. Phaed.* p. 60; *Hermas Schol. ibid.* c. 19, p. 99; Isocr. *Hel. Encom.* c. 28, p. 218 f.

<sup>11</sup> Syriani, *Hymn.* ap. Zosimus, v. c. 6, 2, p. 407 f.

<sup>12</sup> Harris, *Boanerges*, pp. 193 ff.

known under the name of St. Elmo's fire, and which, in antiquity, was supposed to be a sign of good fortune.<sup>1</sup> In the battle on the Sagra, Achilles usurped the place occupied by the Heavenly Twins in most accounts of that battle.<sup>2</sup> Twin brothers save Delphi from the Persians and later from the Gallic hordes, just as Achilles saves Athens from the Goths.

These facts will unquestionably establish that Achilles was a Dioscuric hero; for only on this basis can we explain his Dioscuric functions. There remains to be proved that Achilles and Paris were Dioscuri fighting for the same woman, and here the question must be answered, What was Achilles' relationship to Helen? There was a current legend according to which Achilles lived with Helen on the island of the Euxine sea.<sup>3</sup> According to some accounts they had for a child the winged Euphoriion.<sup>4</sup> There also existed a tradition which knew of Achilles' wedding with Helen near Leuke.<sup>5</sup> A Laconic legend narrated that Achilles had wooed Helen before her marriage with Menelaos.<sup>6</sup> Post-Homeric legends told of a miraculous meeting of Achilles and Helen through the mediation of Aphrodite and Thetis.<sup>7</sup> Lykophron speaks of a union of Achilles and Helen in a dream of the hero.<sup>8</sup> Finally, there seem to have existed statues of both Achilles and Helen in the hero's sanctuary on the island of Leuke.<sup>9</sup>

I have tried to show in one of the foregoing sections that Apollo-Idas certainly was a deity of light when he was associated with Lynkeus and the Leukippides, and that

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 205; Albert, *op. cit.* pp. 55 and 63.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *De nat. deor.* ii. 2. 6; iii. 5. 13; Diod. Sic. *Exc. Vat.* vii.-x.; Justin, xx. 3. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. *Descr. Gr.* iii. 19. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Ptolem. *Heph.* 4.

<sup>5</sup> Philostr. *Her.* 746.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. *Descr. Gr.* iii. 24. 10; cf. also Roscher, i. 2, c. 1936.

<sup>7</sup> Welcker, *op. C.* ii. 205.

<sup>8</sup> 171.

<sup>9</sup> Philostr. *Her.* 745.

the same is probably true of Paris. The name of Helen likewise expresses "heavenly splendour,"<sup>1</sup> and the natural inference would be that the counterpart of Apollo-Paris, Achilles, is also a hero who is connected with the phenomena of light, either the light of the sun or the brightness of day and of the sky.

We find, then, in Hellenic legend the motif of two heroes of light and brightness fighting for the love of a woman. The two heroes are twin brothers or have replaced such. They are warriors, but not primarily so, as both show features of culture heroes, a certain softness of character; both stand for the arts of peace, music, eloquence, navigation. One of them is killed by the shot of the other. Both are of divine descent; one of them is quasi-invulnerable. Turning now to the Teutonic Balder legend, we again find two heroes, one of whom is certainly a deity of light and brightness, fighting for a woman. Both are warriors, but primarily skilled in the arts of peace.<sup>2</sup> One of them is depicted of a softness quite unusual for a Teutonic hero.<sup>3</sup> Both are of divine descent and brothers; one of

<sup>1</sup> Eitrem, p. 25; cf. also Roscher, i. 2, c. 1977. It is to be noted that twin heroes are generally associated with phenomena of light and darkness. Thus we have Lykos and Nykteus in the legend of Thebes, the Hindu Agvins and the Lettic "sons of God." Furthermore, the mother of Dardanos is usually called *Electra*, the shining one, while the mother of Iasion is given the name *Hemera* (=as bright as day) by Hellanikos (ap. Eust. *Od.* v, p. 1528; Eudoc. p. 196). On the other hand, Dardanos and Iasion are certainly a twin couple of culture heroes, one of whom kills the other, as was pointed out above. In view of these striking analogies it is justifiable to conclude that two brothers, connected with phenomena of light and darkness, and one of whom slays the other, are twins, even if we should not possess the additional data of their fight for the love of a woman, as we do in the case of the Norse Balder Myth.

<sup>2</sup> Snorri, *Gylfag.* cap. 22, cf. Bugge, pp. 86 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Saxo, p. 74; also in the *Snorra Edda*; cf. Kauffmann, pp. 59 f., who observes that Snorri's description of Balder reminds him of the way in which the Greeks depicted their Dioscuri. Now granting that the technique of such descriptions was transmitted to the Scandi-

them is quasi-invulnerable. These parallels are so striking that it may be permissible to conclude that even where the Teutonic sources are silent concerning other features and attributes of Balder and Hǫr they are likely to agree with the Greek myths which have been pointed out or reconstructed. But let us examine first the two Teutonic protagonists and see whether we may not be able to bring out traits which have not been given all the attention they deserve in the light of this parallelism.

In the *Snorra Edda*, Balder's opponent is depicted as a blind god. Mythologists are agreed that this blindness, if primitive, would indicate what in classical antiquity would be called a chthonic deity, a god of darkness, of death and of the lower world. Unfortunately, it is impossible to attach much importance to Hǫr's blindness in Snorri's narrative, as this trait is probably not primitive at all, but due to the efforts of later mythographers who wished to make him a blind tool in the hands of Loki.<sup>1</sup> From the fact that Hǫr's tomb was shown in Zealand and that a cult was probably attached to it, it appears fairly certain that at least in some localities he was considered as a chthonic divinity.

Hǫr kills Balder, the god of light, sending him to the lower world, and then is killed in his turn by Balder's avenger. Both Balder and Hǫr are said to come back, at the end of time, to reign together in peace, in a better world. It is to be observed that the myth of the dying and resurrected god occurs in many religious systems, being found in the legends of Ishtar, of Orpheus, of Attis, of Osiris, of Adonis, of Demeter and Kore, and in the monotheistic religion which arose in the Orient when the others

navians through scholastic channels, yet it must be admitted that the figure of Balder lent itself to this art. The same can be said of the description in Saxo's *Gesta*. Only culture heroes such as Balder and Frey were capable of this kind of artistic treatment.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kauffmann, p. 54.

had pretty nearly run their course. As has been noted repeatedly, these legends must be regarded as nature myths, representing the growing and decaying of vegetation every year in the countries of the temperate zones. There is nothing especially Indo-European about them, as they are found among Semites and Hamites as well. What is of greater importance for our purpose is to find out whether or not there exist such vegetation myths in connection with Dioscuric legends.

Turning to Greek mythology, we should first think of the stories of Kastor and Polydeukes, one of whom rises when the other goes to the netherworld. This parallelism would be strengthened by the fact that there are traces of a hostility between the two brothers.<sup>1</sup> However, the facts do not permit us to base much upon this evidence, as it is not free from all doubt, and we shall have to look further in the field.

The true *dénouement* of the myth of Apollo and Idas was not known in classical times; at least it has not come down to us. It is, however, fairly certain that the story narrated by Apollodoros is not the original version.

It has been established beyond doubt, I think, that Apollo, if he was not originally Dioscuric, certainly became so by taking the place of one of two twin heroes in many legends. The question whether he ever was a chthonic divinity cannot be answered offhand. It is certain that during the classical and Hellenistic periods no decidedly chthonic Apollo cult existed of which records have been preserved. This does not necessarily mean that he was always free from chthonic features, and I think that traces can be found pointing to the fact that in pre-historic times he was not the bright immortal, antagonistic to the very idea of death and decay.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the duel of the twins on two Roman coins (De Witte, *Revue numismatique*, 1839, pp. 92-3), and their fight in the sanctuary at Sparta, Lactant. ad Stultum, *Theb.* vii. 412.

One of the main characteristics of the chthonic hero or the dead god in his tomb. The Cretans showed the tomb of Zeus on their island.<sup>1</sup> A certain place in Arkadia boasted of the tomb of Asklepios.<sup>2</sup> Hyakinthos had his tomb at Amyklai. Similarly the grave of Apollo was shown at Delphi.<sup>3</sup> Still more ominous than this very important fact is Apollo's association with so many mortal heroes, whose chthonic character will be set forth in the following section.

Achilles was decidedly a chthonic divinity. On his tomb, the Ἀχιλλεύς in the Troad, regular sacrifices for the dead were offered by the inhabitants of Troy.<sup>4</sup> Pausanias mentions a funeral service of the Elean women in honour of the hero.<sup>5</sup> A similar funeral celebration was observed by the women of Kroton, who were not allowed to wear either ornaments or costly dress during the ceremonies.<sup>6</sup>

Still clearer is the case in regard to the cult and myth of Hyakinthos. The legend of the hero killed accidentally by Apollo is too familiar to all students of mythology to be recounted here. Pausanias relates that at Amyklai there was an ancient statue of Apollo on a base of the shape of an altar which was regarded as the grave of Hyakinthos. There was a bronze door in the sides of the altar through which offerings were poured to the dead hero before the sacrifice to the god.<sup>7</sup> A gloss of Hesychios states that the

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, *De nat. deor.* iii. § 53.

<sup>2</sup> O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, München, 1906, p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> Porph. *Vita Pythag.* 16; cf. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, London, 1913, i. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, *Geogr.* xiii. p. 596; Pliny, v. 125; Solin. *Polyb.* xl. 51; Herod. v. 94; Pomp. Mela, i. 18; Steph. Byz. under Ἀχιλλεύς ἄρβανος; Philostr. *V.A.T.* 153; Eust. in *Il.* vii. 86.

<sup>5</sup> *Descr. Gr.* vi. 23. 3; cf. E. Rohde, *Psyche*, Freiburg i. B., 1898, pp. 153, 171, n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Lyk.* 856 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Descr. Gr.* iii. 1. 3.

Laconic Apollo *κουρίδιος* was also called *τετράχειρ* or the four-handed Apollo.<sup>1</sup> Farnell draws the undoubtedly correct conclusion that the title arose from some double herme-representation, in which Apollo was grouped back to back with some other personage, probably Hyakinthos.<sup>2</sup> If this be true, we have here a striking parallelism to the myth of the Moliones; for according to another gloss of Hesychios and a fragment of Ibykos,<sup>3</sup> they were a pair of Siamese twins. Later this was no longer understood, and thus we find that Pherekydes narrates how each of the Moliones had two heads, four hands and four feet.<sup>4</sup> Now this is the same blunder which Hesychios committed in his gloss on the four-handed Apollo, and the natural inference would be that Apollo, or rather the divinity whom he displaced,<sup>5</sup> and Hyakinthos were sometimes thought of as Siamese twins. But just as the Moliones were more often represented as separate twins,<sup>6</sup> so Apollo and Hyakinthos certainly were not always thought of as grown together, for only thus could the myth of Apollo killing Hyakinthos have arisen. But the conclusion stands that Apollo and Hyakinthos are another pair of Dioscuri.<sup>7</sup> The cult of Hyakinthos is clearly chthonic.<sup>8</sup> The god is interested in

<sup>1</sup> Farnell, *op. cit.* iv. 371, n. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Farnell, *op. cit.* iv. 127; Wide, *op. cit.* p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> Eitrem, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. A in *Il.* xi. 709; cf. also Apollod. *Bibl.* ii. 7. 2.

<sup>5</sup> In all probability Apollo took the place of an older, proto-Hellenic divinity; cf. Farnell, *ibid.* iv. 127.

<sup>6</sup> Eitrem, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that Amyklai seems to have been a centre of Dioscuric cults. There lay the tombs of Alexandra, Cassandra and Agamemnon, and there both Alexandros and Deiphobos probably received divine honours. Cf. G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, Oxford, 1911, p. 238, and Wide, *op. cit.* p. 335. According to Pausanias, *Descr. Gr.* iii. 18. 10, there existed in the city a cult of the two Horai from times immemorial.

<sup>8</sup> Farnell, *ibid.* iv. 125.



agriculture; he has attracted unto himself a vegetation ritual, and, as Farnell expresses it, is considered as a male counterpart of Kore.<sup>1</sup> Thus we discovered, in Greek mythology, at least two counterparts of Apollo, the god of brightness, both chthonic, twin-brothers of his or conceived as such and killed by him. It is true, in the Norse myth the god of brightness is killed by Hq̄r who remains on earth, at least for some time after the death of his opponent. But it must be noted that Balder is in the same position as Hyakinthos, Attis, Adonis and so many other vegetation heroes, depicted as bright and young, but doomed to an untimely death. After the fatal shot of Hq̄r, Balder is a chthonic divinity, like the others. Saxo narrates Balder's burial at some length. He lies under a barrow which still subsisted down to the time of the *Gesta Danorum*. Saxo tells a story of some men who tried to plunder the burial place, but were driven away in sudden panic, a story which Saxo himself appears to believe.<sup>2</sup> Thus there can be no doubt that as late as the twelfth century of our era the people of Zealand knew of the ancient cult place and still imagined their hero to be alive in his tomb, protecting his country even after his death, as did so many Grecian heroes.<sup>3</sup> Balder and his opponent also had cult places in Jutland.<sup>4</sup>

Apollo and his counterpart Hyakinthos are not primarily divinities of war; they are vegetation heroes; their province is peace and peaceful pursuits.<sup>5</sup> Sophus Bugge pointed out the character of Hq̄r, such as he appears in Saxo's narrative, and which makes him essentially a culture hero. The euhemerism of the Danish historian unfortunately prevented him from giving us an idea of his functions

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 126.      <sup>2</sup> *Ed. cit.* pp. 77-8.      <sup>3</sup> Kauffmann, p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> Möllenhoff, *Sagen*, pp. 373 ff.; cf. also Kauffmann, pp. 89 f.; 110 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Farnell, *iv.* 124 ff. On the essential character of Apollo as a god of peace cf. *Serv. Aen.* i. 329.

in the ancient cult. We are in a better position as regards his counterpart. The Icelandic sources agree in depicting Balder as the good and pure god, the god of peace and the works of peace, the god of justice and of peaceful assembly at the moot.<sup>1</sup> Again our sources do not say anything about his other functions.<sup>2</sup> We can surmise that he may perhaps have been a protector of navigation.<sup>3</sup>

Of the two opponents, one is quasi-immortal, the other sometimes mortal, sometimes immortal. Balder can be wounded by just one weapon, Achilles in just one spot. Høðr is mortal both in Saxo and the *Snorra Edda*; so are Idas, Hyakinthos and Paris. Apollo is immortal. The question is, which represents the more archaic stage, the struggle of the quasi-immortal hero with the mortal or with the immortal? It is generally assumed that Hyakinthos and Idas are ancient heroes of proto-Hellenic or early Hellenic populations. As regards Paris, the matter is not settled, but the presumption, on these analogies, is that Apollo came to take his place at a later stage of mythic development. Thus it would seem that the Norse saga represents an earlier stage than the Greek stories in which Apollo is a protagonist.

From the above exposition of the facts it can be safely inferred that the story of Balder and Høðr is the exact counterpart of certain Greek myths, whose heroes are Dioscuri, one of whom kills the other, and who, at a certain period, were divinities of light. What has not been explained is the striking resemblance of the story of Balder, Høðr and Nanna on the one hand and that of Apollo, Idas and Marpessa on the other. Let us sum up the chief

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Meyer, *Mythologie der Germanen*, p. 392; L. Uhland, *Schriften zur Geschichte der Dichtung und Sage*, Stuttgart, 1865-73, vii. 22.

<sup>2</sup> His warlike character is probably secondary, as is that of Apollo; cf. Niedner, *Zeitsch. f. deutsches Altertum*, xlii. 305 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This can perhaps be inferred from the late *Frithjof's Saga*, though the matter is by no means certain.

points of the two versions of both the Greek and the Norse legend.

I. APOLLONOROS, I. 7, 8-9.

1. Apollo and Idas woo Marpessa.
2. Idas abducts her against her father's will.
3. War threatens to break out between Apollo and Idas.
4. Zeus interferes and lets the girl have her choice.
5. She chooses the mortal.

II. HOMER, *Il.* ix. 564.

1. Idas is engaged to Marpessa.
2. Apollo abducts her and probably dishonours her.
3. Idas takes her from him.

Compare with this the story of Balder and Hœr as told by Saxo and reconstructed by F. Kauffmann,<sup>1</sup> who, by the way, disbelieved in the parallelism pointed out by Bugge.

I. SAXO (Danish saga).

1. Balder and Hœr woo Nanna.
2. She chooses the mortal.
3. War breaks out between Balder and Hœr.
4. Hœr marries Nanna.
5. He kills Balder.

II. SAXO (Norse saga).

1. Hœr is engaged to Nanna and has her in his power.
2. Balder abducts her and dishonours her.
3. He is killed by Hœr.

We see that the story derived from a Danish saga corresponds almost exactly to the version of Apollodoros, the Norse version no less exactly to the version of Homer.

The Norse legend permits us to conclude with certainty that the Greek versions which have come down to us are incomplete and mutilated. This has long been suspected; for a primitive story of rape and abduction is not likely

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 63 ff.

to have such a flat *dénouement* re-establishing a philistine *status quo ante*.

To come to the last and most important conclusion of this study, the similarity between the Greek and Norse legends is so great that they cannot have arisen independently and accidentally both in Greece and Scandinavia. Therefore Bugge was justified in assuming a literary borrowing. However, it is safe to say that Saxo Grammaticus is innocent of plagiarism as regards Apollodoros and that Snorri was not acquainted with the *Iliad*. Hence only one conclusion is possible, namely, that the legend is Indo-European. Granting this, it is clear that it must have been attached to at least one hero who existed in Indo-European times and who continued to exist both among the Greeks and the Teutons; for legends of sufficient complication and presupposing a definite character of the chief protagonist do not float wildly in the space; and this hero exists: *Balder is Apollo*.<sup>1</sup>

This identity has been suspected by Harris, who already suggested that both names may go back to the name of the apple tree.<sup>2</sup> The existence of this myth confirms his conjecture.

Frazer and Kauffmann showed that the myth of Balder's death has its origin in some ancient ritual, the sacrifice of the vegetation demon. Now, if the identity proposed above between Balder and Apollo be true, we must look for similar rituals in the cult of Apollo, and traces of them are not wanting.

In the Laconian *Karneia*,<sup>3</sup> a festival which fell in August,

<sup>1</sup> The similarity between the Teutonic god and his Greek self had struck the imagination of many scholars long before Harris. As early as 1689, O. Rudbeck, in the second volume of his *Atlantica*, pp. 236 ff. identified the two divinities.

<sup>2</sup> *The Ascent of Olympus*, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. on this subject: W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, Berlin, 1905, II. 254 ff.; Wide, in Roscher, II. 1, cc. 961-4, and *Lakonische Kulte*, pp. 73 ff.; Farnell, iv. 259 ff.

a man was decked with garlands and started running, pursued by some young men, called Σταφυλοδρόμοι or "Grapecluster-runners." If they caught him, this was considered a good omen; if they failed, it was an evil one. The ritual was a purely agrarian ceremony designed to secure a plentiful harvest and vintage. The person thus dressed up corresponds to the North-European "Pfingst-lümmel," "May King," or "Jack-in-the-green." He is an incarnation of the spirit of vegetation, who must be caught by the farmers to ensure to them a rich harvest.<sup>1</sup> Frazer's researches have made it clear that these peasant rituals are quaint survivals of an older, more cruel custom, where the man embodying the spirit of vegetation was slain. This theory seems to be confirmed, as far as the *Karneia* is concerned, by the narrative of Theopompos who relates the slaying of a certain Akarnanian prophet by the name of Karnos.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore we know from Pausanias<sup>3</sup> that the Dorian cult of Apollo Karneios was instituted to appease the manes of the slain Karnos. If it be objected that the statement of Theopompos refers to the slaying of the prophet priest leading the host at the ceremony and that we find nowhere the slaying of the priest king connected with the pursuit of the spirit of vegetation, we may say that the priest was originally in all probability the Jack-in-the-green himself, but ceded this rôle in aftertimes to a member of the community.<sup>4</sup>

Apollo also appears to have stood in special relationship to the hero Kyknos. Farnell pointed out that the latter seems originally to have been a priest of Apollo dying in the service of the god.<sup>5</sup> It is to be noted that according

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> *Descr. Gr.* iii. 13. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Wide (in Roscher, ii. 1. c. 952), who does not mention the Balder myth and probably did not think of it when writing his article, suggests that the fleeing man was the priest or *εργατης* himself.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* iv. 273.

to one legend he is slain by Achilles, the Dioscuric opponent of Apollo-Paris.<sup>1</sup> According to another he is stoned to death by that hero.<sup>2</sup> Now death by stoning is met with very frequently in Dioscuric myths. Idas hits Polydeukes with a stone and knocks him unconscious<sup>3</sup>; Mannhardt pointed out a parallel in the Lettic Dioscuri myths.<sup>4</sup> Also the Gothic twins Ammius and Sarus are killed by stones at the command of King Ermanarich.<sup>5</sup> It seems to be tolerably certain that Kyknos was another of those mortal incarnations of an immortal god or spirit. He, like the priest Karnos or Karneios, had to die in the ritual. Farnell hesitates to press these facts to the ultimate conclusion, that the death of the priest originally meant the death of the god.<sup>6</sup> His bright and genial nature and his antagonism to the shadowy powers of the chthonian world was, according to the English scholar, part of his original character.<sup>7</sup> But are we so sure about that? The tomb at Delphi referred to above certainly speaks against this assumption.<sup>8</sup> Also it is very well to attribute the traces which have been found of a chthonian character of Apollo to the pre-Hellenic populations of Greece. But then the question naturally arises, Why was Apollo, the bright god of light and the upper world, chosen to replace pre-Hellenic chthonian divinities? Why was he associated with them at all? Wherever we meet with the substitution of one divinity by another, there must be certain *points d'attache*, which facilitate the substitution. Even the Orthodox Church had to take into account pagan susceptibilities and had to choose the right saint to replace the right pagan

<sup>1</sup> Ovid. *Metam.* xii. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Palaiph. *De incred.* 12.

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.* iii. 11. 2.

<sup>4</sup> "Die lettischen Sonnenmythen," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnol.* vii. 82.

<sup>5</sup> O. L. Jiriczek, *Deutsche Heldensagen*, Strassburg, 1898, p. 190.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* iv. 284.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 299.

<sup>8</sup> Likewise the fact that at Delphi Apollo took the place of the chthonic Ge deserves careful consideration.

god or hero in a given locality. If we deny Apollo's ever having had chthonian character another explanation must be found to account for his taking a place in chthonian cults such as those of Hyakinthos, of Linos and of Skephros. Such an explanation has not as yet been given, and the logical conclusion is that Apollo was not always the bright god and immortal Olympian such as he appears in classical and Hellenistic times.<sup>1</sup> This character of brightness and purity does not exclude the possibility of a tragic death. If the Norse myth of Balder's end had not come down to us, no one would suspect that this bright and noble hero-god is doomed. Yet Scandinavian tradition has preserved this trait rather than any other of his life, so that it would seem that the only moments of importance in his career are his love for Nanna and his death.

Müllenhoff observes <sup>2</sup> that the passionate love of beautiful valkyries and young heroes doomed to a premature death was a favourite theme of heroic poetry, in ancient Scandinavia. But it was no less favourite with the Mediterranean nature cults. Does not Attis die for the love of Kybele, Adonis for that of Astarte? Does not Orpheus go to the netherworld to rescue his beloved one, a hopeless attempt? Are not Achilles and Paris killed in the prime of their lives for the love of Helen? Do not the Apharides and at least one of the Dioscuri meet with a premature end in their fight for the Leukippides? It is doubtless true what has often been observed by students of Old Scandinavian mythology that there is a peculiar resemblance between Balder and a number of heroes of epic legend such as Sigurd, Helgi, Hagbarth and others. But may their

<sup>1</sup> The same conclusion was reached by A. Döhring, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, v. 1902, p. 61. The German scholar suggests that the flat dénouement of the Idas myth may serve the purpose of saving the immortality of Apollo, who in the original version was probably slain by Idas.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitsch. f. deutsches Altertum*, xxiii. 127.

legends not go back to the same root as the Balder myth? In Greece and in the Near East there was room for many vegetation heroes whose stories were so much alike that they could be easily identified by the syncretists of the Empire. May not the same have been true in ancient Germany and Scandinavia? Are not Balder and Frey much alike both in their general character and their love adventure which appears to have been the all-absorbing one in their lives? <sup>1</sup>

Reference has been made above to the old Cretan legend of the tomb of Zeus which earned for the islanders their proverbial reputation as liars. But we know now that what they reported was but the survival of an ancient belief of which the rest of the Graeco-Roman world was no longer conscious, that even Zeus was mortal. The creation of the Olympians was certainly the last stage of a long development which began with the savage cults of an unknown past and ended with the Zeus of Phidias and the Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome. Thanks to the blessings of the Mediterranean clime, the Hellenes developed a civilization which alone made possible the attainment of this highest stage of their religion. Their poor brothers on the shores of the Northern Ocean and the Baltic were less favoured; as late as the tenth century of our era they had not succeeded in reaching the stage which the majority of the Greeks appear to have attained when Homer wrote his immortal poems.

The Norse *Æsaser* were *semidei*, though the death of most of them had been postponed until the end of time. Still they are mortal, and they are keenly conscious of it, and it is because of this shortcoming that Odin becomes the restless "wanderer," trying to obtain information from all possible sources as to the doom which he sees hanging over him and his people. No such cares preoccupy the Olympians;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mogk, *Zeitsch. f. deutsche Phil.* xvii. 370; Paul's *Grundriss*, loc. cit.; Kauffmann, pp. 125 f.



Ewigklar und spiegelrein und eben  
Fliesst das zephyrleichte Leben  
Im Olymp den Seligen dahin.  
Monde wechseln und Geschlechter fliehen,  
Ihrer Götterjugend Rosen blühen  
Wandellos im ewigen Ruin.

This great difference between Teutonic and Hellenic religion is brought out, more clearly perhaps than in any other myth, in the fate of Balder the Beautiful and his Hellenic self, the Olympian Apollo.

We have found, then, in Balder the Beautiful an Indo-European Dioscuric vegetation demon and culture hero, originally probably a tree-spirit, but not connected with the oak. He was developed by both Hellenes and Teutons into a divinity of light. Both as a Dioscure and a culture hero he was the centre of a ritual and of an elaborate myth, relating his love for a woman and his premature death at the hands of his twin brother and rival.

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## THE RITUALS OF BALI

IN this paper I deal with Bali, the most western of the small Sanda-Islands in the East Indies. It is situated east of Java near the limit between Asia and Australia, 8 and 9 degrees south of the equator.

Within its small area of 2095 square miles Bali encloses an infinity of surprises, unknown to the average cultivated European. It is not the fantastic beauty of its tropical landscapes, varying from pretty river-valleys, abundant thick jungles and virgin forests, to wild, desolate and grandiose volcanoes, which makes the strongest impression; but much more, the extremely interesting population with their peculiar forms of an ancient civilisation, unlike that of all the other islands in the Archipelago.

The Balinese, numbering now about one million, are partly the descendants of the ancient Javanese. When Islam conquered Java in the sixteenth century, and the ancient empire of Modjopait had fallen, the aristocracy of that island, who would not agree to exchange their Hindu civilisation for Islam, emigrated to Bali. The former inhabitants of this island, the so-called Bali-ago, belonging to a Polynesian race, first became their slaves, then gradually mingled with them. The new inhabitants followed their old Hindu religion, with which they assimilated some elements of the primitive animism of the former inhabitants. Their priests used to immigrate from Hindustan, and that accounts for the fact that survivals of the Hindus appear in the Brahmans of Bali.

The three elements of race, Hindu, Malay or Javanese, and Polynesian, have blended into a peculiar Balinese type,

a type nobler and more intelligent than that of Java. Their character is gentle, good-natured and kind ; they are a happy people, full of humour and continually joking and laughing.

The subject of which I made a special study, was the religious life of the Balinese, the ritual of the priests and the temple-dances, subjects which have never before been studied closely.

The Balinese are a very religious people, as well as artistic and full of imagination. Religion and Art are the things that the whole of the population principally devote their lives to, and Art means with them chiefly dancing and acting.

With the exception of a few villages in which the so-called " Bali-Islam " prevails, the island retains its Hindu religion and it is the only island in this whole Archipelago where Hinduism still prevails. That means to say, only the priests, the so-called *Pedandas* belong to it ; they are about two-thirds Siva-priests and one-third Buddha-priests, but the Balinese forms of Sivaism and Buddhism differ from each other very little. The rest of the population is neither Sivaist nor Buddhist but pure animist, knowing nothing about the mysteries of the *Pedandas'* religion. The *Pedandas* have as above mentioned assimilated part of the original Polynesian animism, which, blended with their Hinduism, has developed into peculiar forms. One example of these Polynesian elements, also shared by the priests, is the belief in and worship of evil spirits, the so-called *butas* or *kalas*.

Further, the people worship their place of birth, their ancestors, and the places where their ancestors have lived.

The third object of the Balinese worship is the *Dewas* or gods who rule the world which for them means just the island of Bali and the sea round its coast. Those *Dewas* are innumerable, but Siva is *Maha-dewa*, the god. Everything in nature has its local *Dewa* ; every mountain, river, lake, tree, grotto, etc., and most of them have a little temple, altar, statue or place of worship of their own.

Hence Bali is all covered with religious art. As it is not possible to know and still less to worship all the gods, everyone chooses for himself and his family, as his own gods, those that can be of special use, and for these he builds his own house-temple, the so-called *sangga*.

The Hindus introduced the caste system into Bali, although in a much less rigid way than in British India, and it is hardly noticeable in daily life. The three higher castes, the Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Waisiyas form together the *triwangsa*. This *triwangsa* forms only about one-third of the population. So two-thirds or more of the Balinese are Sudras or belong to no caste at all.

A man of higher caste may marry a woman of any lower caste, but not vice versa. Besides the risk of losing her caste, there are severe punishments for a woman marrying a man of a lower caste than her own. If a Brahman woman marries a Sudra man, she is liable to lose her life.

The Buddha priests must always be Brahmans. The Siva priests may belong to any Triwangsa caste.

Those who have any physical defect such as being hump-backed, one-eyed, limping, etc., cannot become Pedandas, as they must be generally sane and healthy. A strict diet is prescribed for the Pedandas and for those who wish to become Pedandas. The meat of many sorts of animals is forbidden, as well as alcohol. According to the priestly books, the Pedandas should lose their priesthood if they break these rules. But in practical life one sees the Pedandas enjoying every sort of food, and nobody seems to mind it.

Once I wished to find out in what way I could show my gratitude to a high priest, who had posed for me. I was then informed by his people, that the best way would be to make him a present of some strong, nice liquors.

The books say that a Pedanda may not protect himself against rain or sun. But that does not prevent them from carrying umbrellas in public.

The sacred books are called "lontars," because they were and generally still are written on stripes of leaves of the lontar-palm. In them can also be traced some of the Hindu-yoga practices.

The *Sisia* or pupil, who wishes to become a priest, must study those books for years and perform certain practices under the control of his *Guru* or teacher. This *Guru* then becomes his spiritual father. An instance of how seriously that relation is taken is that the *Sisia* may not marry the daughter of his *Guru*, as that would be regarded as incest.

Before every day's ritual the *Pedanda* has to go through certain ablutions and acts of purification. Then he dresses in white linen, fastened for the temple-service with a four inches broad ribbon, which can be either white or black, tied round his breast and hanging over his left shoulder. On great occasions he wears the *basuk*, a sort of high crimson mitre, on his head, and numbers of rosaries: some long, hanging down from his shoulders and crossing each other on his breast, and others smaller hung round his ears and his wrists. On all occasions he wears some stalks of the holy *alang-alang* grass tied round his forehead.

There is a legend about the holiness of this grass. According to Mr. van Hinloopen Labberton, who has published this legend in "*Tijdschrift van Bataviaasch Genootschap*," the mythological bird *Garuda* had to steal the *amrita*, the water of life, from the gods and bring it to some *nagas* or snakes in order to purchase his mother freedom from their power. He succeeded in doing so. But when nobody was watching the jar of *amrita*, the gods came and fetched it back again. When the *nagas* returned, they found only a drop of the *amrita* hanging on a stalk of the *alang-alang* grass. When they tried to lick it, they split their tongues in two on the sharp grass. Since then all snakes have split tongues, and the *alang-alang* grass became holy and is used by the *Pedandas*.

I largely owe my knowledge of the facts and notes about the Pedandas to Mr. P. de Kat Angelino, whom I met in Bali where he was a Dutch government official for eight years. For some time I collaborated with him in Bali, studying the priests and temple-rituals, he writing about them and I sketching them in their different ritual poses.<sup>1</sup>

During the temple ceremonies the priest seats himself, crossed legged, his face turned to the east. Before him is placed either a little low table or two dishes with all his attributes. These latter show remarkable analogies with those of the Roman Catholic Church. There is the holy water, the incense, the ringing bell, the chalice, the rosary, the little oil lamp.

Beside those, the Buddha priests have the badjra, corresponding to the vajra of Tibet, the thunderbolt of India, and both Buddha and Siva priests have the *canti*, a sort of brass flag, which is during the ceremony turned towards the four points of the compass.

The ritual consists mainly in the Pedanda "reading his maveda." They call what they read Vedas, but it has little to do with the real Veda books, and consists of a collection of mantras in a language that is a sort of corrupted Sanskrit, which the crowd need not understand. These mantras are murmured in a singing voice and accompanied by the *mudras*, different poses and gestures with hands and arms. These are all the time in motion, while the body and legs remain unmoved. Each mudra has its own symbolical or secret meaning and magical power. The Balinese mudras are different from those of Tibet and Japan, and they have developed into a more varied and complicated system than anywhere else.

There is as far as I know only one mudra that is common to Buddha priests and Siva priests on Bali; all the rest are different.

Fresh flowers play a great part in the ritual. Before

<sup>1</sup> Last year published as a book, *Mudras*.

the ceremony the blooms without the stalks are picked by some member of the priest's family, or at least of his casté, and laid on one of the two dishes before him. Some of the mudras are performed with a flower held between the fingers, and when the mudra is finished the flower is flicked away, so that while the ceremonies proceed, the ground round the Pedanda gets covered with petals.

The chief sacred flower is the tjempaka, white or yellow, growing on high trees, and besides this there are the cambodja, melati, kenjen, jempiring and ergana.

Night flowers may be used only in the temples of Death, dedicated to Batara Durga, the demon of destruction.

The popular religion consists mainly in appeasing or frightening away the Butas or evil spirits. The Balinese take for granted that every man is healthy and every man is good. If somebody is taken ill or commits a bad action, then it is the Butas, who are using the poor sinner as their tool. If you can only keep Butas at a distance, nothing bad can happen.

In Bali, what most frequently reminds one of the Butas-cult is something called *pependjuran*. These are very decorative and high rods made out of several bamboos fixed one on the top of the other, adorned with ornaments cut out of green palm-leaves and sometimes with large, crimson hybiscus-flowers at the top, used as baits. Their aim is to attract Butas out of the atmosphere and, like lightning-conductors, lead them, past the human dwellings, down into the depths of the earth, where they can do no harm. In case some Buta may descend the *pependjuran* on its outside there is for safety's sake a bowl with new-killed pig-blood deposited on the ground beside it, so that the Buta may alight on the blood and leave the people alone.

Cock-fights, very popular in Bali, are also a form of Buta-cult, as the evil spirits on these occasions are bribed and appeased with the cock's blood.

A custom that seems to be derived from pagan fetishism is to bring stones as offerings to some dewas. On the South coast, the coral stones found in the fishermen's nets are used for this purpose. All the stones found of some peculiar or unusual shape are brought to one particular temple in the interior of the island. Another custom which seems to be of pagan origin is to manufacture fetishes out of *kepengs*, that is a native coin with a hole in the middle, rather like a Chinese cash. Great numbers of these *kepengs* are fastened together, as to form a human shape, and are kept in certain temples. Once a year they are carried in sedan-chairs followed by processions to the sea, where a bath is given to the god. Such celebration is a great popular entertainment; the crowd shout, yell, make as much noise as possible and behave like fools.

The sacred dances, which have very ancient traditions, belong to all sorts of religious festivals. Most of them were originally Hindu plays with motives out of the *Mahābhārata* or *Ramayana*. Acting and dancing are very closely connected in Bali; in fact they use the same word "*mainan*," for both. In many of their plays the subject has disappeared, and only the dancing is left.

As the performers of the sacred dances must be virgins, they stop performing at the age of 12-14. Their training begins when they are babies, and after a few years they have acquired much acrobatic skill. Unlike the other Balinese women and men, who go about naked to the waist, the dancers are entirely covered save for their face, hands and feet. The material of their clothes is partly buffalo hide carved and gilded; partly gorgeous brocade, home-woven by the women; home-dyed thin scarves; the so-called "*prada*" work, which consists of ornaments of leaf-gold, glued on silk. In the dress of the dancers fresh flowers play a great part. The dances are performed at night, after sunset, by the light of torches or bamboos filled with oil, and they take place in the temple courtyards or in open places of the village at the Radja's



palace or the houses of chiefs and other people, and they serve to celebrate all sorts of festivals.

Beside the sacred dances, there are devil dances, the most typical of which is the "Tjalon Arong." They are performed at full moon in the courtyards of the temples of Death, dedicated to Batara Durga, the demon of destruction.

When Batara Durga manifests herself, in cholera or other epidemics, she must be appeased with human blood. According to Mr. P. de Kat Angelino, who has seen it, "kris-dances" are then performed at full moon in the courtyards of her temples. The dancers, either young men or girls, first become intoxicated by breathing the smoke from a strong incense, or they are hypnotised by the priests until they fall into a trance. They dance in ecstasy, swinging crises (daggers) and wounding themselves till the blood flows. Sometimes they stick a fresh flower into the open wound and continue dancing, until they fall down and are carried away, living or dead. They may be seen rolling on the ground, biting the heads off living chickens. This extends to the onlookers so that they behave the same way. Yelling and shouting they lick and drink the blood of the wounded, as though they themselves were the evil spirits which it is intended to appease. Even the little children take part and do the same as the others.

A third class of dances is the secular dance, the most important of which is "joged," a dance of a sexual character. It is performed by one grown-up woman and then one or more or any number of men who come forth from among the circle of spectators, and dance round her with their nostrils extended. The sense of perfume seems to play the predominant roll in this dance.

All sorts of dances are always accompanied by the music of the *Gamelang*, that is the native orchestra. In the *Gamelang* the most ancient instruments are of bamboo; some of the others have developed out of the bamboo motive.

TYRA DI KLEEN.

## THE CONVERGENCE OF CUSTOMS.

THERE has been much ado of late among anthropologists debating whether like customs must have a common origin or may be independent creations of minds working according to the same laws. There has been some feeling on both sides, one fails to see why ; doubts never seem to have troubled the science of animals, which includes that of man, nor the science of language, which is included in it. Zoologists may have made mistakes in classing together animals that do not belong together ; comparative philologists may be uncertain whether two words are the same or quite unconnected ; but there seems to be no doubt about principles. It has now been recognised that the same conditions may mould different structures into the same forms, that environment may cause species wide apart to converge ; on the other hand this truth has not been used, or rather abused as it has been in the history of customs, to block all attempts at tracing a common pedigree for any animals whatsoever : each case is considered on its own merits.

In the sphere of language, the only part of anthropology that has reached any precision, everything works smoothly : no one doubts that English and Hindustani are of the same stock, though it may not appear at first sight ; no one will refuse to consider any reasonable proposal to connect English and Hebrew ; but until such a proposal is forthcoming no one will be angry that others decline to believe in their common origin. If you can really prove that Polynesian and Aryan languages come from the same source so much the better : distance is immaterial ; the rigour of the method alone

decides. But can it be that languages like animals can converge?

The idea which we express by the verb "to take" is rendered *teku* in one dialect of the Solomons. The two languages are totally unconnected; they have nothing else in common. Is this then a case of convergence? No, because the resemblance has not been brought about by similar conditions, it is pure chance, the number of sounds in any language is limited and coincidences are therefore bound to occur, but they are easily recognised as such and no trained linguist can be taken in by them.

True convergence, however, does occur. Aryan languages express possession by special adjectives called possessives. So does Melanesian, and so doubtless do many other groups. Have they borrowed this peculiarity from one another? If penetrating below the surface, we examine the structure of these possessives, we are forced to deny it. Aryan languages formed their possessives by adding adjectival suffixes to personal pronouns and did so at least four thousand years ago; Melanesian, or its parent tongue, expressed the same idea by particles before pronouns, and this they did at a comparatively recent period. Thus two groups of languages widely removed from one another in space and in spirit, working separately, have arrived at a similar result by different ways; their possessives are in appearance alike, but their structure betrays their different origin.

To prove that similar idioms occurring in various languages have a common origin, it is not sufficient to show that the languages as a whole have a common origin; for convergence is especially common among related languages, just as cousins are more likely, in virtue of heredity, to pick up the same habits. Various Indo-European languages have articles which are really unemphatic demonstratives, yet we know that the parent language had none; every schoolboy on the classical side has seen the articles developing in Homer, and knows that Latin had not yet begun to acquire any in the days of

Virgil. The curious point is that Sanskrit has independently tended to use as articles the very pronouns that Greek chose for the purpose. The reason is that being heirs to the same traditions they have tended to solve the same problems in the same way.

The question however that interests us here is whether convergence extends to other creations of the human mind besides language; to art, to customs, to beliefs. We should expect the same laws to inform and pervade all human activities, but such general reasonings are not safe; we want examples.

Architecture supplies us with one. Both Gothic and the Graeco-Buddhistic art of North-Western India possess the trefoiled arch. Does either derive it from the other, or both from a third? The form tells us little, but the structure immediately disposes of the suggestion. Firstly, the Gothic arch is a true arch; the Gandharic is a trabeated arch.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, we know that the foils of the Gothic arch were produced at first by letting into the soffit of the arches small pieces independent of the mouldings; only later were the cusps cut out of the arch; in Gandhara the trefoiled arch was merely the section of a double trabeated dome.<sup>2</sup> Thus two groups of artists, parted from one another by time and space, starting from different principles of construction, arrived at *similar* designs; what they had in common was the artistic feeling which delights in the same forms and is ready to discern them when indicated by the material.

The church of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, supplies us with another instance of convergence: the plan is an octagon of eight pillars supporting a dome and made into a square by the addition of four more pillars at the angles. This is exactly the plan of a Jaina porch.<sup>3</sup> The English and the Indian

<sup>1</sup> Fletcher, *A History of Architecture*, pp. 337 and 347.

<sup>2</sup> Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*, vol. i.

<sup>3</sup> Fletcher, *op. cit.* Fig. 256 and p. 629; Fergusson, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1910), vol. i. p. 317.

architect working the one on the principles of the Renaissance, the other on Indian traditions, have both hit upon the same device for harmonising a square plan with a circular dome.

The idea of convergence seems to present no more difficulty to the architect than to the philologist, partly because the material is so abundant, partly because he is more conscious of his art as a solution of problems. In sociology, on the other hand, practical experience and theoretic study are usually divorced; the sociologist is seldom a statesman or administrator as well; social changes therefore appear to him as automatic processes, like a stream flowing downhill, not as the constant effort of different races with different traditions to overcome the same obstacles. If, instead of keeping anthropology and European history in watertight compartments, we interpreted the one in the light of the other, the convergence of customs would present no difficulty to the mind.

Feudalism appears in ancient Egypt; it recurs in Europe in the Middle Ages; in Japan recently; in Fiji to the present day.

In form these states of society are so much alike that they are described by the same term; but that is no reason for believing that one is derived from the other. The structure of Mediaeval Feudalism shows it to be descended from the Roman Imperial Administration, broken up, usurped, and adapted by barbaric invaders: the titles are the titles of Roman officials with Germanic additions; the bond that unites Europe is the memory of the Caesars. We can find nothing in Fijian feudalism to connect it with ours: titles, ceremonials, prerogatives, religious associations, do not show anything that could be traced to Europe. We do not know exactly what was the state of society out of which Fijian feudalism developed, but it certainly was nothing like the civil administration of the Roman Empire. Yet the process of development was remarkably like the process that took place in Europe: there is evidence that Fiji at one time was

more centralised than when it was discovered, and that there had been a king of Fiji; chiefless and ever warring tribes split up his realm into fragments, but adopted much of the style and hierarchy of the country they invaded, only on a much smaller scale; but, just as in the Holy Roman Empire, the old tradition started a process of centralisation once more, and already one tribe had attained to hegemony and attempted to revive the kingship of Fiji, when we arrested the natural development of Fijian history.<sup>1</sup>

It would appear then that feudalism is a stage through which any society accepting the hereditary principle is sure to pass when exposed to disruptive influences, as sure as any mammal will develop horizontally like a fish when it takes to the water. The actual details of the feudal organisation will depend on what went before. Once we are in full possession of the facts there can be no doubt whether a resemblance is superficial and due to the convergence or whether it lies deeper and is the result of a common origin. The caste system of the late Roman Empire and that of India may be related or may merely have converged; the question cannot be decided by a philosophical controversy, but by historical evidence. In the *Hibbert Journal*<sup>2</sup> I translated the thoughts of a Fijian on the decline of his race. The author, inquiring into the causes of this decline traces it to the neglect of the ancestral gods; he does not, however, propose to dethrone the Christian God in order to reinstate them, but thinks it possible to worship both, the Christian God as a Spiritual God, the Fijian gods as temporal powers; the Fijians should pray to the One for spiritual benefits; to the many for material benefits; "How exactly like the Gnostics," observed one reader, an authority on the Early Christian Church; yet the writer of this essay had never heard of the Gnostics; no more had his teachers: he was merely a zealous Methodist and an

<sup>1</sup> "Early Fijians," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Inst.* 1919, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xi, 1912, p. 85.

equally zealous pagan, anxious to retain the new religion without giving up the old ; perplexed with the same dilemma as the pagan of antiquity he arrived at the same solution ; but his doctrine is composed of different materials : his Christianity is not primitive, but nonconformist, he calls God Jehovah ; the First Person of the Trinity is the most important, and he does not know the sacraments ; on the other hand his paganism is so remote from that of the Roman Empire that if there is any connection it cannot be traced.

As the members of two different groups may converge till they resemble one another, so members of the same group may diverge till only careful study can reveal their original identity. Dugongs and seals would inevitably be classed together by those ignorant of natural history ; yet they are but distant relations ; their immediate relations are much further removed in appearance from them than they are from one another ; who would imagine at first sight that the dugong is more nearly akin to the ungulates than to the seal ? So also in language, the Flemish *pepel* and the Solomon Island *pepele* both mean butterfly and differ only by one letter yet they have nothing to do with one another ; the philologist refuses to identify our word soup and the Sanskrit *supa* because he can find no evidence that it is not an accident ; on the other hand who would believe that the Latin *equus* and the Greek *hippos* are one and the same word seeing they have not a letter in common except the termination ? Could anything be imagined more opposed to Mediaeval Feudalism than Roman Administration ? Yet the two are more closely related than the various forms of feudalism are to one another.

What then becomes of all our anthropological definitions ? The exact meanings of clan, sept, totem, magic, religion, have been debated over and over again ; but all these definitions have served but to hamper the progress of historical research. For history is concerned with origins ; it is interested to see how one institution gradually changes into another completely different ; it is quite otherwise

with geometry which investigates the immutable principles and properties of forms; their definitions are the very foundation of the science; but to introduce them into history is to misconceive its whole purpose and spirit; the result is, to bring together those things which are historically unconnected, and keep apart those things which are closely related. We may classify states into monarchies and republics, but by doing so we merely confound all natural relationships; we place the French Republic side by side with the Roman, with which it has little in common but the name and a few pedantic imitations of details that do not matter; we separate it from the British Monarchy of which it is largely a copy. In many parts of the Pacific Islands each clan reveres an animal which is the incarnation of a god or a ghost, and is therefore called a spirit-animal; <sup>1</sup> these animals can pass all the tests required for admission as totems; in the Solomon Islands, however, Dr. Rivers and I found spirit-animals which are unconnected with any clans and any exogamy and could scarcely pass one of those tests; yet they are obviously the same as the spirit-animals of Fiji and Samoa, only stripped of all those associations which would give them the right to be called totems. On the other hand anthropologists commonly group together as totems institutions which, for all we know, may have no common origin at all, and which may not even be cases of convergence, but accidental and superficial resemblances. Thus in Fiji we find side by side the spirit-animal and the name-fish of the tribe; the two are quite unconnected in the native mind, and cannot, as yet, be connected by the European mind, for the spirit-animal may not be eaten, while the name-fish is the special food of the tribe.<sup>2</sup> Yet both, according to definitions, should be totems.

There is nothing to be gained by thus joining what should be separated, and separating what should be joined.

<sup>1</sup> "Spirit Animals," *Man*, 1915, No. 86.

<sup>2</sup> "Fiji: Totemism," *Man*, 1920, No. 12.



In the early days of anthropology such groupings were certainly useful. The South Sea Islander's classification of bats with birds and rats with lizards may be convenient for practical purpose; but it fails completely when animals are studied scientifically. So it might have been useful to use the labels "clan," or "totem," or "magic" so long as anthropology was merely a curiosity-shop of customs; they serve to keep in one's mind vast collections of facts, and introduce a certain order which is the necessary preliminary to scientific investigation. Men like Tylor performed a very useful function in arranging their collections in such a way that their possibilities could be seen at a glance, that they could suggest problems and stimulate a desire to explain the numberless cases of uniformity in variety by working back to the origins. But once this has become the object of our quest the old classifications must be broken up. All the methods of making fire will no longer be grouped together; the burning glass will be transferred to optical science from which it is derived; the flint will go to the section of stone implements; and it is a question whether the various ways of making fire by friction may not have arisen independently out of as many different processes of the wood industry, since that would best account for their variety. Magic will no longer be put in one case and religion in another, since magic is frequently but debased religion; but the spells of the Atharva-Veda will be treated as the continuation of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, while Mediaeval magic will follow its Roman and Germanic antecedents.

The experience of students in other walks of knowledge led us to expect that we should find convergence operating in customs and beliefs. An examination of facts has confirmed that expectation. The examination was worth the trouble, and the time spent upon it has not been in vain; for it will save time in the future. We feel that we can safely disregard henceforth the abstract controversy that

centres round the question whether like institutions can have independent origins or not. Convergence undoubtedly exists and common origins undoubtedly exist. The structure of all institutions, when sufficiently known, will point with no uncertain finger one way or the other. There can only be doubt where the evidence is insufficient, and to argue where we do not know is truly unprofitable where there is so much we can know for certain to-morrow, if we chose.<sup>1</sup>

A. M. HOCART.

<sup>1</sup> For convergence in Zoology see *Les Vertébrés vivants et fossiles* (Musée Royal d'Histoire Naturelle, Brussels). I here take the opportunity of thanking the author, Mr. Louis Dollo, for his great courtesy and indefatigable zeal in demonstrating his collections, and thereby helping me to realize more clearly than I had been theretofore the true nature of convergence.



## COLLECTANEA.

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FOLK TALES FROM THE NAGA HILLS OF ASSAM.

(*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxiii. p. 405.)

No. 8.

### *Man and the Tiger.*

ORIGINALLY man and the tiger had the same father, and so the tiger did not catch man, and man, too, did not kill the tiger. And so man and the tiger used to converse. And there was a man whose name was Mera. This man himself had defecated at the edge of the road, and when he was ascending the path said, "Who has defecated here and made this smell? May a tiger eat him." Going up he spoke like this, and again going down he said the same.

And the tiger heard his words and ate him.

For this reason man and the tiger are enemies and fight.

For the common ancestry of man and the tiger, cf. *The Angami Nagas*, 261, 348; *The Sema Nagas*, p. 317; Endle, *The Kacharis*, pp. 25, 82.

No. 9.

### *The Hornbill's Beak.*

FORMERLY a boy whose father and mother were dead used to tend cattle. And two girls used to tend cattle together with him. One day the boy said to the two girls, "If I open your two waistbands I will make feathers and a beak and will fly away." Thus he spoke to them. Then the two girls said, "If you can yourself fly away by taking our waistbands after making a beak and feathers, then fly away." Thus they spoke to him. And so they gave him their two waistbands, and he made a

beak and feathers and flew away. And the two girls called him again, but when he had nearly flown to the sky he said to them, "I cannot come back, but seven days from now you two meet and go and sit together outside your houses and make cloth. And seven days afterwards perhaps I will come flying and give you something." And so seven days later, having sat outside their houses making cloth, the boy came flying and gave each of them a very good beak, like his own. Then both were very happy and they brought and kept them in their houses. Then the young men of their village made ready to dance. And so they came and asked the girls for the birds' beaks, but they said to the young men, "When you have slain a warrior we will give them to you." And so the young men when they returned from killing a warrior asked them for the beaks.

Hence it is said to be gennah to wear the beak of that bird without having killed a warrior. And the name of that bird is "TERHA."

The beak of the hornbill is not, nowadays at any rate, worn by Angami warriors as a part of their ceremonial dress, but it is still so used by the Lhota Naga tribe, who wear it on the back of the neck, as the Angamis wear conch shells. J. H. H.

#### No. 10.

##### *The Village of Women.*

SOMEWHERE there is a village of women, and in that village there is not one man. If a male child is born, they heat water and pour it on him. And hornets surround their village wall.

And the hornets come flying and suck their breasts, and so they become pregnant.

And in this way they have made a village without taking husbands. Thus is it said.

Cf. *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxv. p. 85; *The Angami Nagas*, p. 263; *The Sema Nagas*, p. 259.—J. H. H.

#### No. 11.

##### *Dosa.*

THERE was once a man called Dosa, and, while he was doing his fields every day, from the middle of his fields a rainbow used

to rise up. And so he took and sharpened his dao and spear and returned to slay the rainbow. Then the rainbow again emerged, and he slew it. And in the place the rainbow emerged from a dhan plant grew up. And he took and planted it in his fields. And so even to-day Jotsoma men cultivate this dhan. And it is called *Desa*, and the man's name has become that of the dhan.

Cf. *The Angami Nagas*, p. 251; *The Sema Nagas*, p. 252.—J. H. H.

J. H. HUTTON.

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A STUDY OF THE FOLKLORE ON THE COASTS OF CONNACHT,  
IRELAND.

(Continued from *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxiii. p. 397.)

XII. *Lucky and Unlucky Deeds.*

Many of these have been already noted, so I will give as simple a list as possible. It is unlucky—to praise a child or animal without invoking a blessing; to recover a person or object from the sea; to take fire out of a house, especially on May day, or if milking or churning is in progress; to take fire from, or give it to, a house where there is a sick person; to meet a fox, cat (in Aran), or red-haired woman, to name the first or speak to the last, when going to fish; to bury on a Monday, unless the first sod is cut on Sunday; to go to a funeral without carrying salt; or to a christening without salt or ashes; to work on St. Martin's day or Innocents' day; to buy a cow, or bury a corpse, on New Year's day; to throw out water after dark; to throw slops or rubbish into a "fort," or ancient ring, or to injure its earthworks, or bushes; to dance to fairy music at one; or to pelt or abuse one, especially if at a *sid* or fairy mound; to keep a manure heap south of a house; to pluck the milk vetch (in Aran) and then look at a person; to build an addition to the west side of a house<sup>1</sup>; to return small crabs and lobsters

<sup>1</sup> All over Connacht, North Munster, and indeed down to Wexford, "spilling blood" was the rule on St. Martin's day. It was sprinkled in fields to ensure a good harvest, and in East Clare put on the corners of the house. The "Martinmas pig" is stated in Irish literature to have been established by Patrick in honour of his friend St. Martin.

to the sea alive; to pluck a leaf from a grave (in Iniskea); to take anything from a forge without the smith's permission; to tread on the "Hungrygrass"; to let a cat claw woodwork (which raises a gale); to see a mirage, or the mythical Island of Monaster Ladra; to abuse a fox (at Portacloy), for he will then kill your poultry; to eat seal's flesh (except at Portacloy); to neglect to lower a sail or raise an oar in salutation when passing Caher Island or Cruich Mac Dara; to use a canoe that has drowned a person, it should be cast adrift (I saw a pathetic case at Scotchport in the Mullet in 1910 where a canoe (curragh) which had drowned two boys was let drift by their father. It lay in a creek still afloat some days later near Dunaneanir); to take a pipe from a grave (Mullet and Carna); for a newly married couple not to step over the chapel threshold together (otherwise the first to do it is soon dead); to look into Downpatrick well without seeing a live insect there; to injure a swan at Ballycroy; to hear a hen crow without killing her, as she is foretelling a funeral; to be born with teeth, or to see ravens, or four magpies.

In comparison with the above list, I heard of but few lucky deeds—these include taking and keeping a coal from a St. John's Eve fire; spitting on a person, or animal, removing from a house on Friday (at Erris and Iniskea); being born with a caul, but you should never be let see it afterwards; walking seven times sunward round a St. John's fire in the name of the Trinity, or three times, or once, round a person, especially a young baby; kissing the cross on a donkey's back, or its teeth to cure toothache; waving burning straw round a child's head, or having a mole "above the breath" (i.e. on upper part of the face).

### XIII. *Omens, Dreams, and Divination.*

I must repeat a few of the last series in this connection. A raven or four magpies are of evil omen foreboding death to the house near which they rest and cry, so are the death watch, the weird cry of the curlew or sandpiper, or the musical sounds heard on the water, as they forebode a wreck or an accident. To get splashed by a "master otter" is very ominous. To meet a fox, red-haired woman or (in Aran) a cat foretells bad

fishing, so does hearing the word "sinach" or "fox," while the crowing of a hen forebodes a funeral, unless you kill her and "make the funeral her own" at once. As to dreams, strange to say, save dreaming for treasure, I failed as signally as in Co. Clare to get any interesting lore; dream books occasionally penetrate even to this wild fringe of the land. It is very unlucky to see a mirage or the spectral islands, like Monaster Ladra, or the corpse light in Termoncarra, Cross Abbey or other graveyards, or a "fireball." A gathering of insects, notably beetles, rats, or non-gregarious birds, is looked on with suspicion.

T. J. WESTROPP.

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A SACRIFICE FOR RAIN. CHIEF'S SON BURNT.  
RHODESIAN NATIVES SENTENCED.

SIR CLARKSON TREDGOLD, the Senior Judge of Southern Rhodesia, and a jury were engaged for two days at the end of May investigating the circumstances in which Manduza, the second surviving son of Chief Chigango, of a section of the Mtawara tribe, was offered up as a sacrifice to appease the wrath of the Mwari (the Great Spirit).

Those charged with the crime of murder included Chigango, the father of the victim; Chiswiti, the Paramount Chief of the district, whose only proved share in the proceedings was the provision of an escort to carry out the orders of Chigango; Chiriseri, a headman of a neighbouring kraal; and four "police boys," or priests, who, acting on orders, carried out the ceremony. The three principals are elderly men and so frail that they had to be conveyed to the Court in a rickshaw, and were accommodated with seats throughout the hearing. The Paramount Chief was found *Not Guilty*, and discharged; the others were found *Guilty*, and sentenced to death. In passing sentence, the Judge announced that he would support the strong recommendation to mercy with which the jury had coupled their verdict.

So far as the actual crime was concerned the evidence was clear. Counsel for Chigango based his defence on the plea that the chief had merely carried out a religious ceremony of long-

established usage among his people. The advocate for the others urged that his clients were guilty but insane. This latter defence was overruled by the Judge.

The scene of the tragedy, Chigango's Kraal, is situated about forty-five miles beyond Mount Darwin and only a quarter of a mile from the river which forms the boundary between Rhodesia and Portuguese territory. It is country infested with tsetse fly, so that it is wholly inaccessible to police and others depending on animal transport; a patrol by police involves a fourteen days' trek on foot. From what is known of the Mtawara tribe, it appears that its members possess a higher standard of intelligence than is usual among the Mashonas. The tribe is steeped in pagan superstition and tradition. The tribal organizations and customs present several somewhat unique features. One branch of the tribe is domiciled in Portuguese territory, and the chief of this branch, named Gosa, is supposed to exercise some undefined form of suzerainty over the three branches in Rhodesia.

#### *The Rain Goddess.*

The Mwari (the Great Spirit) of the tribe, according to tradition, became a man, bought a wife from Gosa, and placed her under the charge of Chigango, one of the ancestors of the present chief of the same name. This wife, named Mashongavudzi, was domiciled within a circle of imposing trees and became one of the Paramount Chiefs of the section of the people under Chigango. When this office becomes vacant it is filled by another woman, who assumes the same name. The person chosen is supposed to be a woman past child-bearing whose earthly husband is dead. The second wife of the Mwari, Nechiskwa, is chosen from Gosa's family when a child and sent to the kraal of Chigango, under whose charge she is placed. She must remain a virgin all her life and is known as the Rain Goddess. The present incumbent of the office of "Rain Goddess" is a child said to be about nine years of age. She was brought to Salisbury for the recent trial, but no occasion arose for calling her as a witness.

The story goes that when there is a shortage of rain, Gosa sends a present of *limbo* (coloured cotton print) to the Mwari,



who is expected immediately to respond by sending the necessary rain. The gift is usually placed within easy reach of the home of the "Rain Goddess." When the news spread that the *limbo* has arrived there is rejoicing among the natives, who confidently expect to see their crops saved from ruin. When the usual ritual has been followed and rain fails to come, the tribesmen usually jump to the conclusion that Mwari is angry and that some one has seduced his junior wife. The only remedy, it seems, is that the culprit should be sacrificed by fire.

In January last the Mtawara tribe, in common with others, saw their crops being destroyed by a scorching sun and starvation staring them in the face. Suspicion fell on Manduza—so far as has been gathered without the slightest justification—and his father ordered that he should be put to death with all the customary ceremony. It came out in evidence that Chigango could not trust his own people to execute this decree, and obtained an escort of about seventy from Chiswiti, so that the victim should not allow his courage to fail and seek safety in flight.

Manduza was conveyed in the night to Chiswiti's "sitting place." Instructions came from Chigango that his son should be sacrificed. An eye-witness of the scene described how Manduza's hands were bound with a *limbo*, specially kept for such occasions, and was then carried by the "police boys" to a place where a wood fire had been prepared. The man was laid on the pyre and further timber placed over him. It did not transpire that he offered any resistance. By daybreak nothing remained but a pile of ashes and human bones, from which the flesh had been burned.

#### *Witchcraft.*

In the meantime Chigango's second son, who heard what had happened to his brother, and evidently feared that he might be marked out for the same fate, went to the police post at Mount Darwin and reported the occurrence. A police trooper and four native police boys visited the scene, made certain inquiries, and marched eighty natives, who seemed to have been concerned in the case, to Mount Darwin, where the investigations were continued and the preliminary examination held. In a statement

made on that occasion by one of those afterwards placed on trial, the following passage occurred: "I admit we were caught, and are now to die for the fault of our chief and headman. Chigango came to Chiriseri and told him he wanted him to take and burn his son Manduza. Chiriseri refused to do so, saying that we were under the white people's rule now. Chigango said: 'I burnt Mgurakoko and Manyondi, and the white people have not heard, and they will not hear of this.' " The statement as to two previous sacrifices having taken place in recent years at the same site is believed to be true.

The Rhodesian Police and Law Departments have had to deal with a considerable number of charges of murder arising out of witchcraft and the machination of witch doctors, or the outcome of deep-rooted tribal superstition, but this is the first instance in which they have been able to obtain evidence of human sacrifice in accordance with old-established rites: Among the natives of Chigango's tribe the belief in the efficacy of sacrifice was greatly strengthened in January last by the fact that within twenty-four hours of the tragedy bountiful rains began to fall, and in pleading that he simply followed the customs of his people Chigango was careful to add: "Rain came immediately afterwards." At a later date when damage to the crops was threatened by the excessive rains, and the chief actors in the drama were in prison awaiting trial, the natives of Mtawara tribe did not hesitate to assert that the Mwari was angry because of the intervention of the Government in seeking to bring to punishment those who had been concerned in Manduza's death. —*The Times*, 26th June, 1923.

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#### BLIDWORTH: ROCKING RITE.

"BLIDWORTH ROCKING," an ancient ceremony said to date back to 1200, in which the vicar dedicates a child to God and then places it in an old cradle, covered with Candlemas flowers, and rocks it in front of the altar, was performed at the village church of Blidworth (Notts) on Sunday evening. So great was the interest in the ceremony that the church was crowded, and many

would-be visitors were unable to gain admission. The custom was revived last year for the first time for a century.—*The Gloucestershire Echo*, 5th February, 1923.

#### LOOKING OVER THE LEFT SHOULDER.

In the fourteenth-century alliterative poem *Cleanness*, ls. 981-2, occurs a tantalising passage whose value annotators have failed to appreciate :

(Lot's wife) *over her lyfte schulder*  
*Ones ho bluschet to þe burse,*

i.e. "Once she looked to the city over her left shoulder." I do not agree with Prof. O. F. Emerson (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* xxiv.) that the passage can be explained by the phrase *Over the left*, and so rendered, "She did not look at all." It seems to me that we must assume an early confusion of two idioms: (a) *to do a thing over the left* and (b) *to look over one's left shoulder*, an idiom of far greater antiquity. (a), identified with (b), became *to do a thing over the left shoulder*. The confusion is not confined to English: compare the idiom "to pay over the left shoulder" in *E.D.D.* and *Roget* with *Littre*: "payer par-dessus l'épaule." (a) was a figure of ironical negation originating in the Morganatic Marriage Service, when the bride gave the left hand instead of the right, and could claim to be a wedded wife only "over the left." (See *Encyc. Britt.* Left-handed Marriage).

The idiom *to look over one's left shoulder* was surely distinct from this both in origin and meaning. Brewer attempts an explanation of the lore embodied in (a) which is accurate for (b) as far as it goes: he refers to the ill-omen of signs seen by the Greek augurs over the left shoulder. With regard to the antiquity of the lore, however, one may say with some confidence that it is as old as the Egyptians. A clue is afforded by the highly specialised sense in which the word *sinistation* has been employed by Egyptologists in the last two decades. Primitive peoples are now supposed by some scholars to have seen clairvoyantly their own aura situated around the head;

some would thus account for the Egyptian belief in the double or Ka (see Wiedermann, *Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of Immortality of the Soul*, ii. p. 110 ff., also *Book of the Dead*, sold by Brit. Mus.). If the Ka showed itself over the left shoulder it was an omen of evil to come, and consequently the Egyptians were afraid to look over the left shoulder.

From this point one can only speculate as to the channel by which this superstitious lore has been carried forward. In pre-Christian times we have the sybil turning to the left when announcing an inauspicious divination, and the appearance of the evil genius on the left. Passing to Christian times there is the visitation of angels appearing on the left side (*Orminn*, 144), and conversely the idiom "to behold a thing with the left eye"; but chiefly the devil looking over the left shoulder. The superstition is still prevalent that if one gazes too long and intently in a mirror the devil will appear over the left shoulder. It is still heard in Lancashire as an admonition against vanity: "Stop looking at yourself in that mirror, or you'll see the devil over the left." Hence, no doubt, we can account for the sprinkling of Holy Water over the left, the casting of salt over the left, and also the rite of witch baptism, when the blood of the candidate was drawn from the left shoulder and sprinkled around her head by the devil (*Folk-Lore*, xxviii. 3, p. 244).

With this evidence before me I think that the *Oxford Dictionary* which gives no other occurrence of the idiom, is wrong in placing the passage from *Cleanness* under literal senses of *left*. There is surely a sense of "ominously, perversely, with evil portent." I cite three other instances from the ballads. The outlaw Johnnie Armstrong looked over his left shoulder just after he heard the sentence of death passed upon him by the king. In the *Douglas Tragedy* Lord William looked back over his left shoulder, with evil omen; and in the *Harper of Lockmaben* the king gives a command over his left shoulder, to his own misfortune. So Lot's wife looked behind her "with a sinister look."

HARTLEY BATESON.

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Oldham.

## MICHEL THE DUTCHMAN.

IN Wilhelm Hauff's *Das Wirtshaus im Spessart* one or two points of interest may be noted. The principal is the significance of Holländer Michel, who appears as the counterweight to the benevolent Glasmännlein (p. 39 of the Camb. Univ. Press ed.) : as opposed to that mannikin he is a gigantic, broad-shouldered Keri whose boots stand as high as an ordinary mortal's neck. Though he is styled the Waldkönig or Waldmann he is attired as a raftsman in Flozerkleider (pp. 54 and 66). His special domain in the Black Forest is the Iannenbühl, " Pine Hill " or hillock (p. 223). Intrusion on this height is resented by him, and thereon he, or his gheet, breaks off the stoutest pines like reeds on stormy nights (p. 50). But in his lifetime he was essentially a keen trader, able to best the Dutchmen of Rotterdam at their own business (p. 50). As a spirit he is or was willing to make men wealthy at the price of their souls, and so he introduced a general collapse of morals into the Schwarzwald (p. 47). For every tree that he fells in the forest, a timber of his cutting bursts from the hull of a ship, and it is lost with man and mouse (p. 51).

Thus the god of the wooded hill is essentially a foreigner, a Dutchman, and Michael, none other apparently than the Archangel, has become the evil genius of the unsophisticated folk of the Black Forest, though his original functions were the patronate of Soldiers, Merchants and Church Associations : Samson, *Die Schutzheiligen* (p. 61.) On the other hand, their guardian angel is the " Little Glasmann," which term Schlottmann and Cartmell, the editors, explain to mean Glassmaker, but the story suggests no interpretation of its significance (p. 231).

The suggestion that St. Michael is the origin of Holländer Michel does not derive any support from the fact that St. Nicholas was the patron saint of thieves, or that in India the Hindu goddess Mansa Devi and the Muhammadan saint Saiyid Bhūra are claimed as their protectors. The underlying explanation of the degradation of an Archangel into a tempter and a buyer of souls seems to be that as patron of traders the Saint

must, by a kind of reflex action, assume full responsibility for their greed, their tricks, and any corruption of morals which increasing wealth may produce.

H. A. ROSE.

#### THE EATING OF DEAD RELATIVES.

IN a recently published work entitled *Early Civilization, An Introduction to Anthropology* (Knopf, New York, 1922), the author, Mr. A. A. Goldenweiser, in criticising Freud's theories, says (page 396, the italics are his),

"But we do not hear of the eating of relatives. To assume a condition which is psychologically improbable and remains unsupported by ethnographic data, is to transgress the bounds of permissible speculation."

As this statement struck me as incorrect, and one that should not be allowed to pass unchallenged, I took the trouble to hunt up all the references to the eating of dead relatives that I could find in the very limited number of books one has at one's disposal in an Indian station. The resulting list seems to be of interest enough to be worth communication :

- (1) Herodotus, i. 216, iii. 99 ;
- (2) Strabo, iv. 201 ;
- (3) Pomponius Mela, ii. 9 ;
- (4) Mandeville, xxi. xxii, xxxiv. (for what he is worth) ;
- (5) Friar Odoric, vii. ;
- (6) William de Rubruquis, xxviii. ;
- (7) John de Plano Carpini, xi. ;
- (8) Duarte Barbosa, § 109 ;
- (9) Marco Polo, iii. x. ;
- (10) *Rélation du Naufrage d'un Vaisseau Hollandais, nommé Ter Schelling, vers la Côte de Bengala* (Amsterdam, 1681), p. 73 ;
- (11) Astley's *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1746), iii. p. 318 ;
- (12) Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 158, 220, 221 ;

- (13) Skeat & Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, i. 54, 566;
- (14) Hose & M'Dougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, ii. 9 n. and i. 175 n. 2;
- (15) Whiffen, *The North-West Amazons*, pp. 120, 121;
- (16) Spencer & Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, quoted by Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 106 sq.

To the above must be added the authorities, to whose works I have no access, quoted by Yule in his comments on the passage in Marco Polo referred to (Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ii. 298, 3rd edn.), and by Longworth Dames commenting on the passage in Duarte Barbosa (Hakluyt Society's edition, ii. 167 sq.), and probably some of those quoted by Gomme in *Ethnology in Folklore* (p. 124).

Of the instances given above, numbers (12) and (16) are in themselves conclusive as to the existence of the practice of eating dead relations, but of the others, (4) excluded, (10) must be regarded as suspect; it refers to the hill-tribes of Assam, among whom I have not heard of the practice, nor of any survivals of it; (11) refers to a Congo tribe, said on the authority of Lopez to eat all sorts of human bodies and those of relatives only incidentally; (13) cannot be regarded as established at all satisfactorily; (15) seems to be definitely negative; and in the case of (14) the reason assigned for the practice reported would rule it irrelevant if correct. In this latter case, however, I cannot help thinking that an interpretation other than that suggested by the authors is possible. The practice they describe is one of attempting to save the life of a boy who is on the point of death by killing his infant sister and causing him to eat a bit of her flesh. The authors' comment on this is as follows:

"The intention seems to be to appease some malevolent spirit that is causing the sickness; and the eating of the flesh seems to be considered necessary in order to connect the sacrifice clearly with the sick child."

Would it not be at least plausible to infer that the girl is killed in order that her soul may enter and reanimate the boy, and that the piece of flesh eaten by him is the vehicle by which

it is sought to cause her soul to enter? If this explanation be the true one, the practice reported may perhaps be then taken as another case in point. At any rate, the references I have quoted are enough to show that the practice exists, and that it has probably existed in the past more widely than it does now, and cannot be regarded as psychologically improbable.

J. H. HUTTON.

Kohima, Naga Hills, Assam.

#### A NAME FOR THE MISTLETOE IN JAMAICA.

SIR JAMES FRAZER kindly sends the following communication :

" It may perhaps interest you to learn that in Jamaica the mistletoe is known to the negro population as ' God Bush,' a term not used by the European races. I have been unable to ascertain whether this name is in a translation of some Spanish word, or whether it is derived from some African negro dialect, or it may be a survival of some old English name."

H. LAMBERT.

Allardyce, Constant Spring, Jamaica.

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE FIRST CINDA OR CUO FOŃ, EGĀP TRIBE, CAMEROON.

THE following legend was related by Fo Messo, a senior Cuo foŃ, or attendant on the head chief of the EgĀp tribe, Bagam, Cameroon. There are various grades of freemen and attendants, and all are known as Cuo foŃs or Cindas. I endeavoured to ascertain what were the qualifications required and how their position was attained, but only one man could give me any information concerning their origin.

In the original mountain home of the tribe, near the banks of the Nun river, a man named Gabafūt was continually in trouble with the other members of the tribe because he would not prepare palm-wine in the usual manner. The then head-chief, Mbeivi, caused him to be flogged several times for his carelessness. One day when Gabafūt was alone he suddenly



became enceinte and remained in this condition for nine years. He then gave birth to a boy, who was to have been given to a woman, named Mata, to nurse. Before it could be handed over the infant made a sudden spring from Gabafūt's arms, and ran to where a large drum (*maakaa nḡsaa*) was standing. He began to play on it, and at each beat a man sprang up out of the ground.

The child, whose name was Ndžū, warned these men that they were to keep their origin secret from the Egāp. These men are said to be the ancestors of all the Cuo foḡs and Cindas in the Bagam area. They began to move about the tribal area and assumed their positions immediately after their creation.

Ndžū assumed adult proportions in a single day, and soon after he approached Mbeivi and enquired why Gabafūt was flogged so often. The head-chief was very angry, and caused him to be driven out of the tribal area and killed.

Mbeivi is said to have come from a place called Ndovi in the neighbourhood of Ngambe. His father's name was Foḡ Ndōvi.

L. W. G. MALCOLM.

Bristol Museum.



#### A CORSICAN BURIAL CUSTOM.

DURING a visit to Corsica some years ago I witnessed a most peculiar burial custom. In some parts of the island the peasants have a rooted belief that when a man dies his spirit enters into that animal which will draw his body to the grave. Therefore the dead person is dressed in his best attire, firmly fixed on to the saddle of an ass, and the cortege starts on its journey. The animal is, of course, first of all led into an open space and then allowed to drift where it will. When at last the body falls from the ass's back, the grave is dug upon that spot and the body interred, the firm belief being that the body is thrown by its disembodied spirit upon that site where it wishes to rest forever.

E. ADAMS.

Ladies' National Club,  
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## TRANSMIGRATION BELIEF.

IN *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiv. pp. 63-4, a transmigration belief from East Anglia was given from a book of essays by P. H. Emerson. The following quotation from the *Roadmender* by Michael Fairless (37th Imp. : London, 1915, pp. 72-4) records the existence of a belief from another part of the coast, which is similar in its main idea, though the details are not identical :

"Once again I lay on my back in the bottom of the tarry old fishing smack, blue sky above, and no sound but the knock, knock of the waves, and the thud and curl of falling foam as the old boat's blunt nose breasted the coming sea. Then Daddy Whiddon spoke. 'A follerin' bürd,' he said. I got up, and looked across the blue field we were ploughing into white furrows. Far away a tiny sail scarred the great solitude, and astern came a gull flying slowly close to the water's breast.

"Daddy Whiddon waved his pipe towards it.

"'A follerin' bürd,' he said again; and again I waited; questions were not grateful to him.

"'There be a corpse there, sure enough, a corpse driftin' and shiftin' on the floor of the sea. There be those as can't rest, poor sawls, and her'll be mun, her'll be mun, and the sperrit of her with the bürd.'

"The clumsy boom swung across as we changed our course, and the water ran from us in smooth reaches on either side : the bird flew steadily on.

"'What will the spirit do?' I said. The old man looked at me gravely.

"'Her'll rest in the Lard's time, in the Lard's gude time—but now her'll just be follerin' on with the bürd.'

"The gull was flying close to us now, and a cold wind swept the sunny sea. I shivered : Daddy looked at me curiously.

"'There be reason enough to be cawld if us did but knaw it, but I be mos' used to 'em, poor sawls.' He shaded his keen old blue eyes, and looked away across the water."

P. J. HEATHER.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GREEK PERSONAL NAMES.

CHOOSING a Greek infant's name is not quite easy. The godparent's first impulse is to name it after its grandparent in order that the latter's name may not die out. But the grandparent may not wish this to be done, in case it brings about his or her own death ( $\gammaὰρ τὰ μὲν π.θαίνει$ ). It is therefore usual to ask permission before giving a living grandparent's name. Some consent immediately, others only half reluctantly, saying they feel it is risky to "give away" their name, but that, after all, "their time is done," so that it will not cost them many days in any case. Some timorous old ladies refuse outright, and say bluntly that they do not wish to die yet.

This is the general rule, but matters are more complicated in Macedonia, where the patriarchal system of life prevails and sons have no separate houses but, with their wives and children, share their parents' house. In this case the godparent had better avoid the names of all the infant's relatives who live in the house—one or the other would have to die if a name were duplicated. Even in old Greece, which is relatively less superstitious than Macedonia, this is why a living father's name is never given to his son.

It is evident that in these cases the connection between the person's name and his life is very closely felt. Possibly it is for some such reason that, on asking a traveller's name and being told it, a Greek says, "May you live!" as he does when told how many relatives the traveller possesses.

The sequence of thought is apparently that life ends when the soul leaves the body, and that where a name goes the soul of that name goes too. That is, if an old woman's name is given to her grand-daughter, her soul will leave her body and enter the infant's, so that the old woman will die. This sounds very crude, but I have heard simple peasants in western Macedonia so state the theory.

A corollary follows naturally in the case of the dead. In spite of all theological teaching, modern Greeks have a horror of death which is absolutely Homeric in expression and intensity, and desire their souls to return to earth after death. This is

ensured whenever a dead person's name is given to his or her grandchild, nephew or niece, as the case may be—the soul is re-incarnated in the child and is happy. So, too, when a child of the family has died, the first of the same sex which is born afterwards must be given its name, though occasionally a mother's grief may be suitably pleaded against repeating the name.

But no poignancy of grief could excuse a widow from naming a posthumous son after his father. Her omission to do so would indicate that she had been an unloving, possibly a faithless wife. Not only that, but in such a case the father's soul could not enter Paradise—apparently it must hover on the outskirts until the child is born and named. No attempt is made to reconcile the two theories of Paradise and earthly reincarnation, and it is admitted that, if the child is a girl, nothing apart from the usual memorial masses can be done by the widow for the father's soul.

The childless dead present a problem. They have a special position in Paradise because, while they lived, they were free from family cares, and no doubt did much good to their fellow-men; but in spite of their privileges they certainly desire to return to earth. Hence a nephew or niece will take pity on them, and secure their return by naming a child after them. Besides, Paradise would in time become over-crowded were the souls not re-incarnated—or so Macedonian peasants naively say.

In the same line of thought is their belief that the soul of a child which is born alive but dies before it can be named is lost for ever.

On such theories it is natural enough that they should suppose that a child develops the character and qualities of the dead relative whose name, and therefore soul, it possesses. A girl of fifteen, whom I knew personally at Kastoria in west Macedonia, for instance, is said by her numerous aunts and uncles to be remarkably like the grandmother whose name she bears, because, they said, "She has her name and so has her soul." On my pointing out, however, that three grand-daughters of the old lady had been named after her and yet were very dis-

similar in character, they were disconcerted—evidently they had not considered the point, although one aunt suggested that the first girl to be given the name had probably secured the soul. Nor had they considered where, if that was so, the other two had got their souls.

Most of my information has been drawn from the Greeks of the Upper Haliakmon valley in west Macedonia, but I have found considerable traces of the same beliefs in southern Greece. As west Macedonia is incomparably more backward because of its wretched communications, it has probably only preserved beliefs which were once much more widely current in Greece proper but have now been attenuated by the spread of European civilisation. It is to be regretted by the folklorist that a similar attenuation now threatens Macedonia.

MARGARET M. HARDIE (Mrs. HASLUCK).



## REVIEWS.

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### GREEK FOLK SONGS.

I VERY much regret that in my notice of *A Sheaf of Greek Folk Songs gleaned by an Old Philhellene* (*Folk-Lore*, xxxiv, pp. 175-7) I made it appear that the translations were by the Countess Martinengo Cesaresco. In fact, she is the author of the introduction only, and I was mistaken in the sex of the Old Philhellene, "who solaced *his* latter years" by translating Sophocles (p. 65). Sincere apologies are due to Countess Martinengo Cesaresco for a preventable blunder.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

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A HISTORY OF MAGIC AND EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE DURING THE FIRST THIRTEEN CENTURIES OF OUR ERA. By LYNN THORNDIKE, Ph.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1923. 42s. net. 2 vols.

A HISTORY of thought is not easy to write. For the thought most worth recording is the work of a few great minds, and these often seem independent of century and country, conversing as it were with one another across time and space. But a history of popular opinion is another affair. Here one is dealing with a strictly social phenomenon, a product of group-consciousness, which as such can be treated as a persistent element in the life of nations. The great minds show its influence least, but in his more casual utterances even the genius conforms to the current beliefs of his time, which all the while

continue to occupy the penumbra of his field of vision. Now the first thirteen centuries of our era are almost destitute of first-rate thinkers, theologians and jurists excepted. Professor Thorndike has therefore good reason to envisage the movement of thought as from first to last a stream of subconscious tendency, a current of opinion along which all were borne together, whatever private efforts they might make in the way of self-direction. On the other hand, his plan is to analyse representative writers one by one; his interest, however, being not so much to estimate each individual contribution to knowledge as to illustrate the common bias due to tradition.

This bias, as displayed in the work of the more or less mediocre thinkers, will naturally wear a double aspect. Ranking midway between the rarer spirits and the illiterate crowd, he will be drawn in two directions, upwards and downwards. Two traditions will compete for his allegiance. On the one hand, Rome and the Romanized parts of Europe never lost touch altogether with the humanism of Greece which proclaimed man to be the interpreter and master of nature by right of his reasoning power. On the other hand, all the sewers of the Levant had emptied themselves into the Tiber, every foul and foolish superstition indigenous to Mediterranean lands had permeated the Empire from circumference to centre. The vapours arising from this seething mass of disintegrating folklore could hardly fail to obscure the light kindled by the master minds of Hellas. That most laborious and worthy of high-born amateurs, the Elder Pliny, could feel in his heavy Roman way the divine impulse to think things out. Nay, more than perhaps the speculative Greek was wont to do, he lays stress on the value of *experimentum*, a word used by him variously to express both experience and experimentation, as Professor Thorndike explains in an illuminating passage. On the other hand, his scientific appetite is that of a *gourmand*, not a *gourmet*, and cock-and-bull stories are swallowed by the dozen. One might almost suspect that, while his secretary from Athens was boiling down a book, the indefatigable master would pump his houseboys from Syria or farthest Britain.

It would be interesting to review the separate accounts here

given of the endless writers, classical, Christian, and mediaeval, with whom Professor Thorndike has made himself familiar, were it a decent thing to do on the part of a critic whose acquaintance with them is but of the slightest. Indeed, not to speak of lesser men, how many of us are genuinely conversant with our Ptolemy or Galen? Professor Thorndike himself, however, it clearly appears, has studied one and all of them at first hand; and, to judge by his copious bibliographical references, has been through the commentators as well. Let it be added that all this erudition has not made him dull. He is both entertaining to read and easy to follow.

It remains to glance at his use of the term 'magic.' Perhaps wisely, he does not try to fasten on it any very exact meaning, but prefers to use it in a generic way to include "all superstitions, arts and occult sciences." Common to these he finds to be "an aim that borders on the impossible, either in itself, such as predicting the future or curing incurable diseases or becoming invisible, or in relation to the apparently inadequate means employed." Now he is perfectly entitled to employ the word thus for his particular purpose, which is to exhibit as a single but many-sided force the sum of tendencies making for bad science in an age generally unfavourable to a thorough and successful study of nature. But there are some indications that he is rather impatient of attempts on the part of theorists having different ends in view to construe the word 'magic' in their own way. He has no business, however, to object if others find it convenient to make it mean something more specific and precise. After all, the historian who tackles thirteen centuries at a time must be content with a bird's-eye view of any phase or body of opinion which he chooses to distinguish as a persistent element. The student of folk-lore, on the other hand, would grapple far more closely with the thousand and one examples of popular belief which modern rationalism rejects, and would doubtless need to classify them under many heads, each division of the subject involving a line of interpretation that might or might not run parallel with the rest. Nay, as has been hinted above, the folklorist in accordance with the ethnological method that now prevails would have to try in the



first instance to restore each survival, each item of more or less unmeaning, because dislocated, belief to its original context, namely, to the culture-complex to which it is organically related. A given superstition figuring in the pages of Pliny may have come down or gone up in the world. It may be a text that has strayed from some Babylonian or Egyptian set of scriptures, or again, may be the echo of a totemic myth from negroland. Thus, whereas the historian merely notes that the stream of time has a muddy bottom, the folklorist probing in the mud hits on a glorious collection of miscellaneous museum-stuff ranging from battered works of art to fragments of extinct monsters.

Finally, it is well to remember that under the bright surface-flow of our present life the mud lies as thickly as ever. The folklorist realizes this fact, perhaps, more fully than the historian of civilization. A sort of psycho-analysis must be applied to society if we are to understand why so many ancient gods are worshipped under new names, why inveterate unreason so often masquerades in the sacred garb of science herself. Nor, in truth, is the trouble due solely to the fact that we cling to an obsolete tradition, that we have not been alive enough to break with the dead past. There is also an ever-present source of intellectual aberration in the constitutional extravagance of the human imagination. To will the impossible, says Professor Thorndike, is to be magically minded. But the impossibilities of yesterday, the incurable diseases and so on, furnish the scientific triumphs of to-day. In short, science is but magic controlled by method. May it not even be that those pioneers of experimental science with whose tentative researches Professor Thorndike here deals could not have been what they were without that taste for wonders which, urging them to dream, at the same time egged them on to make the dreams come true.

R. R. MARRETT.

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THE GOLDEN BOUGH: A STUDY IN MAGIC AND RELIGION. By Sir J. G. FRAZER. Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 1923.

THE BELIEF IN IMMORTALITY AND THE WORSHIP OF THE DEAD: THE BELIEF AMONG THE POLYNESIANS. GIFFORD LECTURES. Vol. ii. The same author and publishers. 1923.

*The Golden Bough* has now become a classic, and it is needless to praise this, perhaps the most valuable work of the present generation. Some of us, like myself, witnessed its birth in two modest volumes; then came the two successive editions, one in three, and the last in twelve volumes. In its latest form it has become a vast encyclopaedia dealing in detail with most of the leading problems of comparative religion and folklore, and though by the aid of an admirable index the contents are now available for reference, many readers must have felt that the main thesis, "The Golden Bough," can be traced only with difficulty, and many of us have preferred to consult the earlier editions in which it was possible to follow the stages of the argument. The size and costliness of the book in its latest form prevented its more general use, and, in particular, made it impossible for the field anthropologist to carry it about with him. These difficulties have now been overcome by the issue of this single volume edition. It has been prepared with such skill that it does not read as an abridgement, but as a restatement of the problem. Sir J. Frazer remarks that he desires to guard against that misapprehension of its scope which still exists, though he has sought before now to correct it. "If in the present work I have dwelt at some length on the worship of trees, it is not, I trust, because I exaggerate its importance in the history of religion, still less because I would deduce from it a whole system of mythology: it is simply because I could not ignore the subject in attempting to explain the significance of a priest who bore the title of King of the Wood, and one of whose titles to office was the plucking of a bough—the Golden Bough—from a tree in the sacred grove. But I am so far from regarding the reverence for trees as of supreme importance for the evolution of religion, that I consider it to have been altogether subordinate to other factors, and in particular to the fear

of the human dead, which, on the whole, I believe to have been probably the most powerful force in the making of primitive religion."

The subject of the cult of the dead and its influence are more fully presented in Sir J. Frazer's second book, the first volume of which appeared ten years ago. In that volume he dealt with the aborigines of Australia, Torres Straits Islands, New Guinea and Melanesia. In the present instalment he goes on to Maoris, Tongans, and peoples of the Society Islands, Marquesas, and Hawaii. The book is a signal example of the devotion and industry of a scholar in a subject which he has made his own. It is much more than a bald catalogue of belief and usage. He describes the physical and social environment. It is well that this phase of society, now decadent, has been described with such knowledge and sympathy before it is too late. He proposes, should circumstances allow him to continue the work, to treat in succeeding volumes the belief in immortality and the worship of the dead among the Micronesians and Indonesians. We can only hope that the powers of the writer and the success of the work will permit these intentions to be fulfilled.

W. CROOK.

#### EARLY CIVILISATION. AN INTRODUCTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY.

By ALEXANDER A. GOLDENWEISER. George G. Harrap & Co. 1922. Pp. xiv + 428. Illustrated. Price 15s.

AFTER quoting a passage from Sir James Frazer, Dr. Goldenweiser a little unwisely indulges in a good-humoured dig at "literary spellbinding." Unwisely because we are reminded that whatever the nature of the subject, the form of its presentation is a matter of real importance. This holds good with particular force in the case of a text-book. For form cannot wholly be separated from content; lucidity of expression is more closely linked with lucidity of thought than is often supposed; there is, in fact, little excuse for the bad grammar and ugly "scientific" jargon which too commonly disfigure so-called serious works.

It must be admitted, of course, that American idiom is not our own. We have no right to object to the use of "barring" as a substitute for "except" or to the printing of "insofar" as a single word if these correspond to the established usage of what is an independent language not a dialect of English. But such a phrase as "Wundt is inevitably led to a non-compromisingly negative attitude toward all attempts of conceiving" must be bad American no less than bad English, and our author's pages bristle with jargon words like "populational," "behavioristic," "civilisational," or barbarous loans from German like "world view" (*Weltanschauung*). "Epistemological" is no doubt due to a misprint. Of these there are more than there should be. It would be charitable, too, to suppose that the printer is responsible for the statement that Professor Elliot Smith, with whose theory I should disagree as heartily as Dr. Goldenweiser, believes that Megalithic Culture originated in the eighth century B.C. [11332]

In asking myself why I am conscious of carrying so little away from a book written by an author whose knowledge is both wide and accurate, I am driven to the conclusion that the same lack of sensitive discrimination which is displayed in the manipulation of words is shown also in the arrangement of the material as a whole. A reasonable framework or scheme is, it is true, laid down, but in marshalling the detail under the various heads too little attention is paid to the relative emphasis and relevance of the various facts under review. It is difficult to detect a continuous guiding thread, nor is the result of reading the book a coherent mental impression.

The pity of it is that it ought to have been a good book. There are good things in it. Its author knows a very great deal about a wide range of primitive peoples, and without showing evidence of outstanding philosophical penetration or originality his mind is shrewd, sensible and sagacious. The book is divided into three parts. Of these Part I. contains a brief survey of five selected primitive societies, Eskimo, Tlingit and Haida, Iroquois, Baganda, and the tribes of Central Australia. In Part II. a different method is adopted and data with regard to the various aspects of civilisation, *i.e.* industry,

art, religion and social organisation, are successively examined. This survey is based upon a different and wider comparison of races, though it is less clear than in Part I. why the particular examples have been chosen. Here the section on art is the least satisfactory, and the very difficult question as to the relative importance of purely technical craftsmanship in assessing the artistic achievement of a people is glanced at but not fairly faced.

There are good things embedded in Parts I. and II., including an excellent and sensible summary of what totemism is and is not, but the writer has not sufficiently determined beforehand what information to insert and what to omit, and lacks the power to give consistent unity to the whole. Part III. is more successful than the rest of the book. The brief review of the main theories about early mentality from Herbert Spencer to Freud is probably as well and fairly done as the scale permits, and the criticisms are concise and to the point.

The main contentions of Dr. Goldenweiser, if not precisely novel, are often tacitly ignored. It will be generally agreed that in all known human societies there is a common element which may be attributed to the identity of human nature, but this common element is a comparatively small part of the whole. There are further relatively large areas more or less continuous within which a yet closer similarity of civilisation is to be observed. This local homogeneity may be due partly to environment and partly to diffusion, but to neither influence exclusively. Here some of the detail of Goldenweiser's exposition is debatable, and I am doubtful how far Laufer's theory of the origin of the potter's wheel, which at present I know only at second hand, would square with the facts known to Mediterranean archaeology. But in the main his position seems sensible and sound. Finally, within these comparatively homogeneous areas the individual societies possess their own different peculiarities.

It would now be generally admitted that the comparative methods employed by an earlier generation of anthropologists exaggerated similarities, ignored differences, and often took too little account of the complicated nature and context of the data

with the result that accidental or apparent resemblances were treated as analogies. Most of us would also agree with the author's attack upon "evolutionism." It is clear that so-called primitive societies have, like our own, a long if less eventful history behind them. Dr. Goldenweiser makes a good point when he insists upon the practical difficulties which arise as soon as the attempt is made to arrange a number of specific primitive civilisations in an ascending scale of absolute merit. The possibility indeed of charting universal stages in the development of the human race as a whole becomes, in fact, more remote as the data of ethnology become more accurately known in all their complexity.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

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MAGICAL JEWELS OF THE RENAISSANCE MIDDLE AGES AND THE RENAISSANCE, PARTICULARLY IN ENGLAND. By JOAN EVANS, B.Litt. Oxford Clarendon Press. 1922. 264 pp. 8vo.

MISS EVANS has written a very learned book, so learned indeed that anyone who wishes to profit from it must know a good many languages. She quotes the books and MSS. which she describes in the original languages, giving abstracts on various stones and jewels or the beginnings and ends in Latin, Old French, Anglo-Saxon, Old German, etc. The fact is that under the title of "Magical Jewels" we have in reality a minute description of the lapidaries of the Middle Ages, both words 'Magical' and 'Jewels' having been taken in a very wide sense; the one covers sympathetic as well as medicinal virtues of stones, and the other covers the whole range of precious stones to which are added many whose only value lies in the popular beliefs of their origin and power. Also a few metals are included. But the author goes even further. As jewels she treats rings with magical inscriptions, even Reliquaries and the pictorial representation of the Three Kings, Jasper, Melchior and Balthazar, although very few of these have anything to do with precious stones. The author has tried to give us the

history of the lapidaries of the Middle Ages, their filiation and connection with one another, and to trace as many of them as possible to their original sources. Above all, she has endeavoured to trace the lapidaries and these 'jewels' in the public and private libraries, and to find out whose property they were in former times. For that purpose she has most industriously searched the old inventories and catalogues. The book is the result of great industry and research, and as such a very valuable contribution to the history of lapidaries.

From the point of view of folklore, however, one regrets to say that the book is a disappointment: the author seems to be too learned to appreciate the value of the popular lapidary; she treats the former as if they were some scientific production of the learned mineralogists of the past, nay, she goes even so far as to describe some of the writings as scientific, and others as fantastic and superstitious. And yet there is not the slightest foundation for such an assumption. From the oldest treatises to the latest credulity, superstition, pseudo-science, magic astrology and alchemy have all been inextricably blended, and there is not a single author who is not a complete representative of this syncretism. Even Albertus Magnus, assuming the treatise quoted by the author not to be spurious, cannot be described even by a stretch of the imagination to have treated the stones in what we may call a scientific spirit. To him also the virtue of the stones is medicinal, sympathetic, or magical, and there is no lapidary, not even that for King Philip, which does not contain all these elements. Those few specimens which appear in the book are evidence of their popular origin.

It is, therefore, not quite correct to assume, as the author does, a real gap between the eighth and the twelfth century, and that Marbode, *e.g.* with whom the western lapidaries begin, had derived his information from so-called 'pagan' sources, and that, as Miss Evans suggests, he as a devout Christian might have repented in his old age of having written a book based upon 'pagan' information and therefore composed another purged of all the assumed pagan elements in expiation of the pagan character of his earlier work (pp. 36-37). Credulity could not go farther. The Church did not in any way object to what

Miss Evans calls 'pagan' teaching, and all the sciences of the Middle Ages including the lapidaries were taken over from the Arabs without any question. The Arabs on their part never hesitated to take over Greek and also other Oriental knowledge. One of the oldest of such lapidaries, that ascribed to Aristotle, was translated into Arabic in fact from a Syriac original, probably of the eighth century, and one has only to examine the *Aggregatus* translated by Joannes Serapion from the Arabic (pp. 91-94) to find all the ancient classical names already given in the Arabic text. This was the case with most of the authors of lapidaries, of whom Miss Evans writes that they derive their information from classical sources; it was only second or third-hand information. Nor does one understand why such importance is ascribed to Damigeron, since he himself was an Oriental magician, and nothing of his original writings has been preserved; it is doubtful even whether Evax, the Arabic prince, who was a direct source for Marbode, has preserved a Latin abstract of the Greek Oriental treatise.

What one misses is a more sympathetic treatment of ancient and modern stone-lore, and the reason why such virtues should have been ascribed to one stone or another, and how magical jewels from being charms and amulets later became mere ornaments. No doubt, the lustre, colour, rarity and other specific qualities detected in some of these stones must have determined their medicinal and magical character. Configurations found inside some of them have also had a share in the symbolical interpretation and use of such stones. To another category belong the engraved gems. In the latter case the stone plays practically no rôle; the symbols engraved are the sole means of protection, and they transform the engraved stone into a charm or an amulet.

But perhaps this was not the intention of the author, who has merely given us a book crammed full of information, but only for the learned. That being so, why on many occasions have the dates of publication been omitted of the books and articles referred to? Also the Hebrew words for 'Agia' are not 'Atha Gebri Leilan Adonia' but 'Atha Gibbor Leclam Adonai.' Of special value is the publications of the Latin texts of Evax in



four variants and those of Ethel. Steinschneider already recognised in the latter a corruption of Bezalel not noticed by the author.

But in spite of these drawbacks, one cannot but appreciate the great industry displayed by Miss Evans in collating and sifting such vast material for such a limited scope. An index of stones, proper names, and a general index complete a book which is a valuable contribution to the literary history of the lapidary.

A word of praise is due to the excellent production of the Clarendon Press. But is not 16s. too high a price for a poor scholar who wishes to use this book?

M. GASTER.

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#### THE HEROIC AGE IN INDIA.

THE LAY OF ALHA, A SAGA OF RAJPUT CHIVALRY AS SUNG BY MINSTRELS OF NORTHERN INDIA. Partly translated by W. WAKEFIELD, and edited by Sir G. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E. Oxford University Press, 1923.

FOR our knowledge of the heroic age in India we have hitherto depended on Col. Tod's classical account in his *Annals of Rajasthan*, which was largely based on Rajput ballad literature. But beyond the limits of Rajputana Rajput bards were busy in recording the traditions of other Rajput septs. One of the most important of these is the Lay of Alha, sung by bards throughout the United Provinces. The text of this Saga was recorded by the late Sir C. Elliott, and a large part of it was translated by another learned member of the Bengal Civil Service, Mr. W. Wakefield, who published his version in ballad metre in the *Calcutta Review* in 1875-6. It was a happy thought of Sir G. Grierson, whose knowledge of bardic literature is unrivalled, to unearth this long-forgotten version. He has enriched it with an admirable introduction, and has filled up the blanks in Mr. Wakefield's version by a prose summary, so that we are now able to study the Saga as a whole. Briefly stated, the leading figure is the famous Prithiraj, the first and

last Chauhan King of Delhi, and its main subject the wars of the Banaphar clan at Mahoba in Bundelkhand. The cycle, while it gives a living account of the chivalrous Rajputs in the thirteenth century, has its weak points: it abounds in repetitions, and the battle scenes, though translated in graphic, ballad measure, are often monotonous. But the Saga raises some most interesting questions, of which at present it is impossible to give an adequate explanation. In particular, the strange marriage customs deserve attention. If the bard is to be believed, it was the rule when a king had a marriageable daughter to send an invitation, practically a challenge, to let him take her who dare. The suitor arrives with an army, and at the frontier announces his intentions through a herald; the father refuses to give his daughter, and a pitched battle follows. If the bride's party are worsted, they resort to treachery, as, for instance, by sending poisoned food to the enemies' camp. Other stratagems follow, and at last the bride's relations give way: the bridegroom and his friends are invited to the fort: marriage with the orthodox seven circuits of the marriage post and arbour is performed; and again the bridegroom and his party are attacked and imprisoned. In the end, the bridegroom is allowed to take away his bride, and the rival parties are reconciled. As described, the battles are not sham fights, but real bloody conflicts. So far as enquiries have gone, there is no evidence that any customs of this kind prevailed in Rajputana, or are found among the Rajputs of the present day. But it is hardly likely that the statement is an invention of the bards. It is clear that such fighting was a pundonor before a Rajput wedding. The suggestion of "marriage by capture" will not account for the facts. It may turn out that it is based on the rule of hypergamy, which compels a Rajput to find a bride in a sept superior to his own, and it must be noted that the Banaphar sept of the bridegroom has a flaw in its pedigree. The question is of the highest interest in connexion with Rajput ceremonial, and it may be hoped that the publication of this book will lead to its investigation. But besides this question which concerns anthropologists, all readers of the book will be delighted with this tale of Rajput chivalry, the valour of men,

the charms and devotion of women. Sir G. Grierson is to be congratulated on his rediscovery of a book full of the widest interest, and on his skill in editing it. W. CROOKE.

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THE LHOTA NAGAS. By J. P. MILLS. London: Macmillan & Co. 1922. Price 25s.

IN recent issues of *Folk-Lore* (vol. xxxii, p. 280 *seqq.*, xxxiii, 230 *seqq.*) we noticed the monographs on the Angami and Sema Nagas by Mr. J. H. Hutton. Mr. Mills has now, at the instance of Mr. Hutton, prepared a third volume dealing with the Lhota branch of the tribe, which in no way falls short of the standard set by the earlier volumes. Mr. Hutton contributes a valuable Introduction, in which he discusses the ethnology of the so-called Naga "tribe." He points out that they are in no sense a homogeneous people, but an amalgam of different races concentrated in their present area as the result of invasion or colonization. This conclusion gives a final blow to certain anthropometrical investigations based on the assumption that some Indian tribes, like Rajputs, Jats, or Nayars, are homogeneous. The Lhota theory of the soul is full of interest. A Lhota believes that he possesses two souls, Omon and Mongyi. The Omon is represented by his shadow which leaves him soon before death, may be induced to return, or it may go straight to Deathland, in which case the man dies. The Mongyi departs at the moment of death and goes straight to Deathland, where it joins the Omon which has already gone on ahead, except in cases of very sudden death. The book is full of interesting observations on the religion and sociology of these people, and Mr. Mills shows that he is in perfect sympathy with them, and as a result of careful observation is thoroughly versed in their religious and social condition. No promise is made that we may expect further monographs on these tribes, but it will be a matter for regret if the knowledge acquired by officers of the type of Messrs. Hutton and Mills and their colleagues is not put on permanent record. W. CROOKE.

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ANCIENT MAN IN BRITAIN. By D. A. MACKENZIE. With a Foreword by G. ELLIOT SMITH. Blackie. 1922.

MR. MACKENZIE from his wide knowledge of British archaeology, anthropology, and folklore, has produced a very interesting book. Beginning with the Britons of the Stone Age and the earliest traces of modern man, he gives a summary of the facts connected with the "Red Man" of Wales. He then passes on to shell deities and early trade, the arrival of ancient mariners in Britain, metal-workers and megalithic monuments, neolithic trade and industries, Druidism and charms, trees and well worship. In his general scheme he adopts the views of the newer school of anthropology, with which the name of Prof. Elliot Smith is associated. This question is too wide for discussion in our limited space, but Mr. Mackenzie's views, supported by a full citation of authorities, cover new ground, and deserve the attention of all students of anthropology and folklore.

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W. CROOKE.

CHILDREN'S STORIES FROM ROUMANIAN LEGENDS AND FAIRY TALES. By M. GASTER. London: Raphael Tuck & Sons. 1922.

DR. GASTER, our best authority on the folklore of Roumania, has selected a very interesting group of tales from the collections of Stanesen, Ispiresen, Ion Creanga and others. His selection, he informs us, has been based not only on their beauty and for being characteristically Roumanian, but also because they form a distinct addition to the literature of the Folk Tales of the world. Most of them will be new to English readers, and, as Dr. Gaster remarks, scarcely any parallels to them can be found elsewhere. This should put students of Folk Tales on their mettle, and it would be well worth the while of any expert in the tales of Eastern Europe to tabulate the incidents and decide in what relation they stand to European and Oriental folklore. The illustrations by Mr. C. E. Brock are very beautiful.

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# FOLK-LORE

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## ERRATA.

- Page 7, line 14, for *Czeko-* read *Czecho-*.  
 Page 47, line 22, for *Cosmus* read *Cosmas*.  
 Page 47, line 23, for *Damianos* read *Damiano*.  
 Page 47, *Note* 2, for *Buanexti* read *Bucuresti*.  
 Page 59, line 31, after known insert *not*.  
 Page 96, line 14, for *Maitland* read *Hartland*.  
 The Obituary of Miss Burne should be paged 99a, 100a, 101a.  
 Page 101a, line 18, for *Vulgar* read *Popular*.  
 Page 174, line 22, for *Smewittchen* read *Sneewittchen*.  
 Page 212, *Note* 8, for *Delphoi*, read *Delphi*.  
 Page 260, line 14, delete *RENAISSANCE*.  
 Page 266, line 23, for *Stanesen*, *Ispiresen*, read *Stanescu*, *Ispirescu*.

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## THE DĪVĀLĪ, THE LAMP FESTIVAL OF THE HINDUS.

BY W. CROOKE, C.I.E., D.SC., LITT.D., F.R.A.

(*Read at Meeting, 21st March, 1923.*)<sup>1</sup>

THE DĪVĀLĪ, or Lamp Festival of the Hindus, takes its name from the Sanskrit *dīpālī*, *dīpāvalī*, "a row of lights." The beauty of the illuminations on this occasion and the rites connected with it have always attracted the interest of European observers. The Hindu is a past master in the art of arranging illuminations. Given a sufficient supply of the tiny rude earthen cups, which any village potter can supply, each provided with a small supply of oil and a wick made of twisted cotton, bamboos to form the framework, and plenty of coolie labour, he can produce marvellous effects. On occasions of public rejoicings the spectacle of these lines of lamps bursting simultaneously into flame

<sup>1</sup> This characteristic paper will be the last of the many contributions to the Society's Transactions by the late Editor of *Folk-Lore*. An obituary, with some account of his services to folklore and anthropology, appears on later pages of this number of *Folk-Lore*, the issue of which has been delayed by his sudden demise. [A. R. W.]

on the battlements of the great Mughal buildings, like the fort-palaces at Delhi or Agra, or along the bathing Ghâts at sacred places like Benares, is entrancing. The illuminations at the Divâli by rich bankers are often on an imposing scale, but for the student of folk custom the little lamps lighted before the meanest hut of the peasant are of greater interest.

It is important to fix the date of the festival, because with the Hindus, as with the Romans and other peoples, "the care of the calendar was originally of religious importance, because the oldest religious festivals marked operations of husbandry, and these, when fixed in the calendar, must occur at the right season."<sup>1</sup> As we shall see, the Divâli in its most primitive form is connected with cattle breeding and agriculture. Such festivals in India display a tendency to fall into two periods,—those of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. Thus the spring festival marks the harvest of the cold weather crops, wheat, barley, and the like, and it is represented by the complex of rites centring round the Holi or fire festival, this being the climax of the primitive spring feast of which only the *disjecta membra* now survive in a continuous series of magical rites which in the earlier age may have extended over a considerable period.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the autumnal equinox festival is now represented by the Dasahra and Divâli, a series of observances of the *rite de passage* type, and occurring about the time of the harvest of the rain crops, rice, millet, and the like. Both these seasons of harvest are obviously suitable for observances of this kind. The granaries are full of corn, the tension of labour and anxiety about the success of the harvest are now for a time removed, the people are idle, and thus there is a natural tendency to outbreaks of eroticism and the temporary relaxation of the laws of order which result in unrest as at occasions of the Saturnalia

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Fowler, *The Religious Experiences of the Roman People*, p. 28a.

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxv. pp. 55 et seq.

type. The Hindu year originally seems to have begun with the month Pûs (December-January), but the importance of the vernal festival naturally led to the selection of it as the date for the beginning of the new year, which in India usually starts from the new moon of the month Chait (March-April), when the Sun enters the sign of Mesha or Aries. But in western India and in some places in the north, where the Divālī is most eagerly solemnised, the autumnal equinox was deemed to be of greater importance, and their new year begins with the month Kārttik at the new moon of October-November, when the Sun enters the sign of Tula, the Balance, (the Libra of the West,) which it did on 23rd September, 1922. This confusion is due in part to the eccentricity of the Hindu luni-solar calendar, and to the use of differing eras in different parts of the country.

The Divālī, then, is generally fixed at the new moon of the month Kārttik, and this month takes its name from the Krittikās or Pleiades, the six nurses of Kārttikeya, god of war. The rising and setting of the Pleiades in spring and autumn respectively have in many parts of the world, including India, exercised an important influence on agricultural ritual.<sup>1</sup>

The general object of these fire and light solemnities is clear. Light and fire are the natural enemies of demons and evil spirits, "the hidden things of darkness." The Divālī thus falls in line with similar new-year observances in various parts of the world, like the lamp festivals in China<sup>2</sup> and Tibet.<sup>3</sup> The belief in India of the prophylactic powers of light and fire comes down from the earliest times. The Vedic rite of the Srāddha or mind rite for the dead

<sup>1</sup> Sir J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild, vol. i. pp. 307 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> S. W. Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, 1883 ed. vol. i. p. 817; J. F. Davis, *The Chinese*, ed. 1836, vol. i. pp. 287 *et seq.*; J. H. Gray, *China*, vol. i. p. 251; N. B. Denny, *The Folk-Lore of China*, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 311.

included the use of a lamp, known as Rakshoghna, "the repeller of Rakshasas or demons," intended to keep evil spirits from devouring the oblations.<sup>1</sup> Lamps and illuminations were, and are, used in Buddhist, Jain, and Hindu worship with the same object.<sup>2</sup> In the domestic ritual a lamp is kept lighted near the mother and her baby to shield them from evil spirits likely to attack them at this crisis of their lives, and the careful housewife goes round the house at nightfall with a light in her hand, illuminating every dark corner which may be haunted by demons.

The Lamp Festival, as now celebrated in India, is of special interest because, if I rightly interpret the evidence summarised below, it represents the conflation of various observances, one, the lighting of the lamps, not being among the more primitive tribes a necessary part of the ritual. With them it is a general prophylactic rite intended to protect the cattle. The equinox was selected as its date because spirits are supposed to be active at this season. We have no means of ascertaining whether the use of lamps was antecedent to that of other means of protection. The special cattle rites may be earlier or later than the use of lamps, or both may have grown up independently in ancient times, and the combination may be only another example of the conflation of varied beliefs and usages of which Hinduism, as we now observe it, is the result.

The Bhils of Khândesh worship their tribal godling on Divâli day and keep a three days' holiday, the headman supplying them with spirits. Dancing goes on, but it is confined to those who pretend to be inspired by the tribal

<sup>1</sup> H. T. Colebrooke, *Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus*, ed. 1858, pp. 119 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> The Buddhist ritual year was divided into three four-monthly periods, marked by observances at the full moon of the months Phālguna (February-March), Ashāḍha (June-July), and Kārttika (October-November); H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 100; Max Duncker, *History of Antiquity*, vol. iv, p. 484, suggests that the lights of the autumn festival acted as a magical charm to promote the return of the Sun from his southern journey.

godling. A buffalo is slain and the meat is eaten, no work is allowed, and the men enjoy themselves by beating a little drum.<sup>1</sup> Members of the same tribe in Gujarāt do not light lamps at the Dīvālī, but drink spirits and sing for two days. On Dīvālī day a thanksgiving is offered to the tribal godling near the cattle-shed. A piece of ground is cleared, and on it a small circle is marked out with grains of rice. In this are placed a lamp and seven lumps of boiled flour in seven leaves. A fire is kept burning and fed with clarified butter. One of the men, generally the owner of the house at which the rite is being conducted, lays his hands on five chickens, throws water on them, and offers them to the gods, specially to Indra, god of the firmament and of the rain, saying,—“O Dharma Indra! We offer this sacrifice to thee! During the coming year keep our cattle from disease, increase them, and be kindly!” Then a second man cuts the throats of the chickens, and a third pours spirits on the ground, with the invocation,—“O Dharma Indra! We pour these spirits to thee!” The cows and oxen, but not the buffaloes, with their horns painted red, are loosed from their stalls, the headman's shed being the first to be opened. When all the cattle are collected they are driven over the body of a Bhl, generally a cow-herd, who lies face downwards, and in return for the risk he undergoes of being trampled by the cattle the headman presents him with a sheet or a turban.<sup>2</sup> This account is not quite free from suspicion. If the Bhl's invoke the Vedic Indra it must be under Brāhman influence. Though we find in this case no general illuminations, the germ of the custom appears in the use of a fire and a light as protectives.

Another case of cattle protection appears among the Bharias, a forest tribe in the Jabalpur district. They worship Bāgheswar, the tiger godling, and they believe

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xii. p. 86, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ix. part i. p. 306. On the custom of cattle trampling on a human victim see *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxviii. pp. 154 *et seq.*



that no tiger will harm a Bharia. On Dīvālī day they invite the tiger to drink some gruel which they place ready for him behind their houses, and at the same time they warn villagers of other castes not to stir out of doors. Next morning they display the empty vessels as a proof that the tiger has visited them.<sup>1</sup> Here, again, the absence of illuminations is significant, and the object of the rite seems to be the protection of men and animals from the attack of tigers. In Central India on Dīvālī day the Tarai Bhils worship their cattle, and feed them on butter, sugar, and wheaten cakes, the festival ending in a general drinking bout.<sup>2</sup>

Gonds at the Dīvālī set out on a platform small heaps of rice, three, four, five, or six in number according to the number of the tribal godlings worshipped by the family. Dry vermilion is sprinkled on the heaps, a cock or young pig is sacrificed, and a fire is lighted. The worshippers join hands, praying the godlings to receive the offering, that they may keep the hands and feet of the family safe, bless their labours, and grant children to those that lack them. Spirits are poured on the heaps of rice, and the head of the victim is laid beside them. When the sacrifice is being performed spirits are poured into the ear of the pig or on the head of the cock, and if the victim shakes its body it is supposed that the godlings have accepted the offering, the shaking or shivering indicating that the deity has entered it, just as the convulsive shudderings of a prophet are regarded as token of inspiration.<sup>3</sup> Then the victim is killed and resin poured over the fire to make it blaze, and the food on which the spirits have been poured is distributed. If any of the godlings are neglected at this rite they bring disease on the family, in which case the tribal

<sup>1</sup> R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, vol. ii. p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> E. C. Luard, *Ethnographical Survey, Central India*, art. Bhil, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Sir J. Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. v. p. 237; *The Golden Bough*, *The Magic Art*, vol. i. p. 377.

medicine man directs them to be careful to propitiate them at the next recurring festival.<sup>1</sup> Here there is no special illumination, but the fire is probably a protective object of the rite being to secure fertility.

Similar customs prevail among other pastoral tribes and castes at the Divālī. Dhangar shepherds in the Central Provinces worship their goats at the Divālī by dyeing their horns and falling at their feet.<sup>2</sup> In the same province Ahīr cattle-breeders raise a mound of earth, called Govardhan (the sacred mountain at Mathurā which Krishna held up on his forefinger to protect his cowherd friends from the tempest sent by Indra, the rain god), dance round it, and make the cattle trample it to pieces. Then they go to the cowsheds, worship the god, and frighten the cattle by shaking leaves of the holy *tulasī* or basil plant before them.<sup>3</sup> They assume fantastic dresses, decorate themselves with cowry-shells, and go round the village dancing and singing. Or they dance round a pole decorated with peacocks' feathers, and wear peacocks' feathers themselves and aprons sewn all over with cowry-shells, the peacock being the holy bird of the tribe, and the cowry-shell a potent charm against the Evil Eye, because it is supposed to crack when the malignant glance falls upon it. Or they perform, as a fertility charm, the rite of waking the godling who presides over the threshing-floor, and pour milk on a stone, his emblem, the rite ending by chasing the cattle as before. Others, again, make a clay image of a parrot, fix it on a pole, and go round dancing and singing, for which they receive gifts of grain and money at each house. Mr. Russell, with some probability, suggested that the parrot represents the spirit of the jungle, propitiated because the bird does so much damage to the crops, and this is corroborated by the

<sup>1</sup> S. Hislop, *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, app. i. pp. li. et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Russell, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 482.

<sup>3</sup> See *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxviii. p. 152, and, for the ancient form of the rite, A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. i. p. 51.

fact that as the parrot is being taken about a grain of rice is fixed in its mouth, as much as to say that it should be contented after being fed and cease to injure the fields.<sup>1</sup> The Vārlis, a forest tribe in Bombay, at the Divālī make their children put peacocks' feathers in a brass pot and dance round it.<sup>2</sup> At this festival the Halvakki Vakkals, farmers in Kānara, fill an earthen pot with water, lay on it a saucer as a lid, and worship it, decking it with flowers and setting round it clay lamps and halves of the bitter cucumber cut in the size and shape of hens' eggs. Then they anoint themselves with coco-nut oil, put the pot on the fire, and bathe in the warm water, possibly a mode of ceremonial purification which, as we shall see later on, is part of the Divālī observances. Then they eat a hearty breakfast and place in the cowshed an image of Bāliandra, the godling of cattle, with a parcel of rice and a coco-nut tied round its neck. The cattle are smeared with various colours, and decked with garlands of half coco-nuts and baked rice cakes strung together. The fiercest bull and the swiftest heifer are driven through the village, followed by a crowd of youths and boys, and he who can snatch a garland from the animals as they rush by is applauded and thought to be worthy to gain as his bride the best girl in the neighbourhood.<sup>3</sup> Here we see the rudiments of the real Divālī illuminations, and this complex of rites seems clearly intended to promote the fertility of herds and the prosperity of their owners.

Another of these fertility rites is the symbolical marriage of the sacred *tulasī* or basil plant (*ocimum sanctum*) with the *sīlagrāma* or ammonite which represents Vishnu. Many tales are told to account for the sanctity of this beautiful plant. Vishnu, according to one legend, was enamoured of Vrindā, wife of Jalandhara, and in order to save him from

<sup>1</sup> Russell, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 32 *et seq.*, and, for a similar custom of the Hatkars, *ibid.* vol. iii. p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xlii. part i. p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. xv. part i. p. 267; cf. *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxviii. p. 149.

this enthrallment the gods invoked the aid of the three goddesses, Lakshmī, goddess of wealth, Gaurī, she of the yellow corn, the Mother goddess, spouse of Siva-Mahādeva, and Svadhā, the personification of the "offerings," wife of Agni, god of fire. Each of them gave a seed to be sown at the place of his enchantment, and these successively sprang into the *dhātrikā*, or emblic myrobalan, *mālātī*, the jasmine, and *tulasī*, the basil, the last of whom appearing in female guise so delighted the amorous god that he forgot his objectionable amour with Vrindā.<sup>1</sup> By a second account, *tulasī* was one of the precious things produced by the gods at the churning of the ocean.<sup>2</sup> A third story tells that she was the daughter of Rājā Dharmadhvaja, "he who bore faith as his standard," and by her devotions she gained the favour of Vishnu, but she married the demon Sankhachūda, who overcame the gods by reason of the virtue of his wife. They appealed to Vishnu-Krishna, but as the demon was his votary he was unable to help them. At last it was arranged that Vishnu should personate her husband and win the love of his wife. When Tulasī discovered the trick she was about to curse him, but he pacified her by promising to wed her himself and make her immortal. He added that those who married his image to the *tulasī* plant on the holy Ekādashī or 11th of the month Kārttik would be happy for ever. Such are some of the tasteless stories invented by Brāhman mythologists. The scene of the marriage is now fixed at the town of Tulasīshām in Kāthiāwār.<sup>3</sup> The truth is that plants of the genus *Ocimum* have fragrant leaves and serve many medicinal purposes, a fact which accounts for the sanctity of the plant.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. H. Wilson, *Works*, vol. iii. p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* *Vishnu Purana*, ed. 1840, p. 78 n.

<sup>3</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. viii. pp. 666 *et seq.* : Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twiceborn*, pp. 268 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Sir G. Watt, *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, vol. vi. pp. 410 *et seq.*

Fertility magic in the case of women is also practised at the Dīvālī in northern India. In the Panjāb on that night, the Amāvas or no-moon night, barren women and those who have lost several children go to a place where four roads meet, strip themselves naked, and cover a piece of ground with the leaves of the five "royal" trees, the pīpal (*ficus religiosa*), the bar (*ficus indica*), the siras (*acacia speciosa*), and the ām or mango. On this they lay a black bead representing the demi-god Rāma, and sitting down bathe from pitchers containing water drawn from five wells, one in each of the four quarters of the town or village, and one outside it in the direction of the north-east. The water is poured from the pitchers into a vessel with a hole in the bottom, from which it is allowed to drop all over the woman's body. The well from which the water has been drawn for this purpose is supposed to lose its fertilising power and runs dry.<sup>1</sup> In the United Provinces barren women of the Chamār or currier caste bathe on the night of the Dīvālī in water drawn from seven wells.<sup>2</sup> Besides the fertilizing power of water illustrated by these examples, another belief connected with the Dīvālī may be suspected to contribute to practices of this type. The theory of the reincarnation of the family dead who fertilize women is common in India. In one form of the belief it is supposed that babies should be buried underneath the threshold, in the hope that they may be reborn in some woman of the family who passes backwards and forwards over it.<sup>3</sup> This theory of reincarnation is illustrated in the Panjāb by the belief that life may be stolen, and on the night of the Dīvālī male children are sometimes stolen and killed, so that a

<sup>1</sup> *Panjāb Notes and Queries*, vol. iv, p. 88: H. A. Rose, *Panjāb Census Report*, 1901, vol. i. p. 164: cf. Sir J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, *The Magic Art*, vol. ii. p. 160: E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, vol. i. pp. 63 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> G. W. Briggs, *The Chamārs*, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> J. Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iv, pp. 846 *et seq.*; Sir J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, vol. i. pp. 93 *et seq.*

barren woman may bathe over the body and conceive a child of her own. But no one would think that a little girl was worth killing, although it is believed that a girl's soul may return in that of a boy.<sup>1</sup>

It is commonly supposed that the souls of the family dead revisit their old homes on Dīvālī night, and for this reason the house is lighted and cleaned to receive them. Indeed, as Mr. Cook suggests, in connection with the Athenian festival of the Anthesteria, "it is likely enough that the yearly renewal of vegetation was attributed to the agency, perhaps even to the actual re-embodiment of the nameless and numberless dead."<sup>2</sup> Chamārs in the United Provinces, like most Hindus, believe that the Dīvālī is the time when the ancestral spirits visit their old homes, and so the family light lamps and sit up all night to receive them.<sup>3</sup> In Gujarāt on that day Brāhman children take a cake of cowdung, thrust it into a piece of sugarcane as a holder, and arrange on the cake a tiny earthen lamp, in which a wick floating on sweet oil is lighted. Carrying this lamp the children go from house to house begging oil for their lamp, that the dead ancestors may enjoy the light.<sup>4</sup>

Hence, as might have been expected, the Dīvālī is closely connected with the cult of the dead. Among the Shans of Upper Burma "the conclusion of harvest is the occasion for paying tribute to the memory of friends and relations who have died during the year, a sort of Feast of All Souls. Guns are fired off at night to frighten away evil spirits, and next day quantities of arrack are brewed, a bullock or a pig is killed, and small pieces of the flesh are stuck on skewers made of bamboo and are roasted. A procession

<sup>1</sup> J. Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. viii. p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeus*, vol. i. p. 687.

<sup>3</sup> G. W. Briggs, *op. cit.* p. 129; cf. the European belief about Hallowe'en, Sir J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Balder the Beautiful, vol. i. pp. 224 *et seq.*, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, vol. ii. pp. 31 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. S. Stevenson, *op. cit.* p. 339.

is formed by the relatives of each departed one, and to the clashing of the well-tuned cymbals and the booming of deep-mouthed gongs and drums they make a round of visits to the houses of all friends or relatives in neighbouring villages, where the inmates each receive a piece of roasted meat and a draught of arrack. In the evening there is unlimited firing of guns."<sup>1</sup> This corresponds with the Divālī, which, as we have seen, marks the end of the harvest. Dhangar shepherds in the Central Provinces believe that the first sheep and goats came out of an anthill, and did so much damage to the crops that the farmers prayed to Siva-Mahādeva, who created the first Dhangar to watch the flocks. Dhangars in memory of their ancestor revere the anthill, never remove one from their fields, and worship it on Divālī day with offerings of rice, flowers, and part of the ear of a goat, a commutation of an actual sacrifice of the animal.<sup>2</sup> In the same province the Gowāri cowherds worship the Dhal, a stick on which two others crossing each other are lashed, and carry it in procession as a means of appeasing the restless spirit of a man or woman who died childless.<sup>3</sup> Kirs at the Divālī worship their ancestors with offerings of food, the sacred Kusa grass (*Poa cynosuroides*), and lamps made of dough. This rite is done at a river side, where the officiant sprinkles water, as orthodox Hindus do in the Tarpana rite for the refreshment of the gods, the deified sages, and the sainted fathers, throws the holy grass into the river, which wafts it to the land of the spirits, lights the lamps, burns in them a little food for the use of the dead, and calls on the name of his deceased ancestors.<sup>4</sup> Jāts in the Panjāb, in each village or group of villages, consecrate a piece of ground in commemoration of some deceased worthy, who was either the

<sup>1</sup> Sir J. G. Scott, J. P. Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, part i. vol. i. p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Russell, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 480.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. viii. p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 484.

ancestor of the clan or a man of some note. This is called the Jatherā, "the shrine of the elder," and at one of these his descendants dig earth on the night of the Dīvālī.<sup>1</sup> The account is somewhat vague, but by it probably may be inferred that the motive of the rite is to propitiate the dead man by repairing his mound. Dagra cultivators in Bengal propitiate their ancestors at the Dīvālī at the Śyāmā Pūjā, "black rite of worship," or on the day of the new moon.<sup>2</sup> In Bombay the Kāthkarī makers of catechu lay out cooked rice at the Dīvālī for the spirits of the family dead, and the Vārlis, a forest tribe, at the spring equinox, at the Dīvālī, and when the new grain is ripe, before any of the living taste it, lay some of it cooked on the roofs of their houses for the deceased relations.<sup>3</sup> In Central India the Bhils perform no regular Śrāddha or mind-rite in honour of the dead, but on the next Dīvālī after the death of a relation they take some cooked rice to the nearest stream, sprinkle it on the ground, and lay on it four lamps fed with ghī or clarified butter. From this day the eyes of the dead person, which up to this time have remained closed, are supposed to open, the lighting of the lamps being perhaps a magical method of securing this result.<sup>4</sup>

Snake worship is also one of the Dīvālī rites. In some places it seems to be based on the fact that about this time, the beginning of the cold season, snakes hibernate, and the rite marks their departure. The cult may also be connected with that of ancestors, because in India, as elsewhere, the snake is supposed to be the embodiment of the family dead.<sup>5</sup> In Khāndesh one part of the Dīvālī is known as Nāgdīvālī, the Lamp Festival of the Nāga or cobra. During this feast, which lasts nearly a month, four or five

<sup>1</sup> H. A. Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, vol. II. p. 374.

<sup>2</sup> Sir E. Gait, *Census Report, Bengal, 1901*, vol. I. p. 406.

<sup>3</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XIII. part I. pp. 164, 187.

<sup>4</sup> Léard, *op. cit.* p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Hastings, *op. cit.* vol. XI. p. 416.



stones are brought from a neighbouring river and placed outside the inhabited site, but within the village area, and they are painted red. Next day at noon spirits are sprinkled on the ground and freely drunk, goats and chickens are sacrificed, and dancing begins at nightfall. Two men holding bamboo torches go from house to house, followed by the villagers, and every housewife comes out with a lighted lamp in her hand, waves it before them, marks their foreheads with the lamp oil, and gives them drink. Next day special delicacies are given to the cattle.<sup>1</sup> This is probably one of the cattle rites already described, and in this case there is no trace of special snake worship, unless, as in the Panjāb case quoted later on, it may imply a custom of bidding good-bye to the snakes. The Gammallas, a caste of Telugu distillers, on Dīvālī day bathe early in the morning, go in their wet clothes to an anthill, the abode of snakes; prostrate themselves before it, and pour a little water into one of the holes. They then wind a cotton thread five times round the mound, and return home. Again they visit the anthill with a lamp made of flour paste which they carry three or five times round the hill, and into one of the holes put some māṅg pulse (*phaseolus mungo*). They fast all that day, and next morning return to the anthill, pour milk into a hole, and end the rite by snapping the thread which was wound round it.<sup>2</sup> The Bharias, an aboriginal tribe in the Central Provinces, at the Dīvālī offer a black chicken to their tribal godling, who may be Buradeo, the chief object of their worship, Dūlhādeo, the bridegroom who met his death in a tragical way, or Karuā, "the black one," the cobra.<sup>3</sup> In the Panjāb it is well known that snakes hibernate about the Dīvālī, the opening of the cold season, and in Kāngra they perform the *Nāg kī pājā*, or

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xii. p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. ii. pp. 256 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Russell, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 247.

worship of the cobra, to say good-bye to snakes. An image of the *nāg* made of cowdung is worshipped, and any snake that appears after this is called "ungrateful," and is killed forthwith.<sup>1</sup> In the same province most Hindus take one of the lamps used at the *Dīvālī*, and this is supposed to frighten away snakes, for six months, the period of their hibernation.<sup>2</sup>

But it is not only the spirits of the kindly ancestral dead that appear at the *Dīvālī*. In Gujarāt on the second night of the festival comes the *Kāla-rātri*, "the black" or witches' night, the most hag-haunted night in the year, when the evil spirits of the wicked dead, of those who have died by violent deaths, the spectres of women who perished in childbirth, ordinary ghosts, demons, ghouls, wraiths, and witches come out and walk through the streets. Wise people, especially women and children, bide at home on that night, and worship Hanumān, the monkey god, the great guardian, by pouring oil and red lead on his image and offering coco-nuts to him. In return, his devotees take some of the oil which drops from the feet of his image, burn it with soot and mark their eyes with it, partly to ensure that they will remain under his protection for the coming year, and partly in the belief that it improves their sight. Other people greet the ghosts by making circles at places where four roads meet, and laying in them cakes of corn and pulse fried in oil. Venturesome persons, who know the right *mantras* or spells, try to secure control of a spirit on this night. They make a circle carefully guarded with iron and water, both scarers of evil spirits, and sit inside it, being careful to keep beside them some *mūṅg* pulse or green gram (*phaseolus radiatus*) as a protective. So long as the man keeps a brave heart and goes on mumbling his spells no evil spirits can attack him, and he becomes their master for the coming year. But if he loses courage, leaves the

<sup>1</sup> *Punjab Notes and Queries*, vol. iii. p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 42.

circle, or stumbles as he repeats the *mantras*, he falls for ever into the power of the fiends.<sup>1</sup> Chamārs in the United Provinces believe that on this and some other nights in the year the powers of a *bhagat* or warlock are at their highest. On this night wizards and witches are on the prowl, cast off their clothes, and ride on tigers and other wild beasts, and alligators ferry them across streams.<sup>2</sup> Special danger attaches to the spirit of a pregnant woman who dies on this awesome night. She becomes the dreaded *chural*, an evil spirit whose toes are turned backwards, especially dangerous to young men, whom she bewitches and carries off, returning them to earth when they have become old, withered men.<sup>3</sup>

This appearance of evil spirits is perhaps one of the reasons why purification is needed at this season. Rājputs perform ablutions *en masse* at a tank on Dīvālī day.<sup>4</sup> In Bombay, in respectable families, the barber attends, rubs the bodies of all male members of the household with coconut oil before they bathe, and next day his wife waves a lighted lamp before the face of the master of the house as a protective against evil.<sup>5</sup> Even the images of the gods need purification, probably to remove any pollution which they may have contracted during the year, and Prabhus rub them with scented powder and bathe them in warm water.<sup>6</sup> Hence the two welcome visitors to the house on Dīvālī day are the man who sells the holy salt which repels evil spirits, and the *sankhīā*, he who carries the sacred conch-shell. He blows his shell trumpet and recites the benediction: "Worship the *jogī* [ascetic who has power over spirits] and enjoy sovereign power! The *jogī* secures salvation and all calamity disappears! May the god

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. S. Stevenson, *op. cit.* pp. 337 *et seq.*    <sup>2</sup> Briggs, *op. cit.* p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 129; Rose, *Glossary*, vol. I. p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> J. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed. 1919, vol. iii. p. 1330.

<sup>5</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. x. p. 127 n.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* vol. xiii. part i. p. 106, n. 2.

Rāma-Raghunāth bless you abundantly, and may you be as prosperous as Nanda [the cowherd by whom Krishna was brought up], and Gokul [the holy town of the god], by the favour of Pānduranga [Vishnu-Krishna]. The conch-shell is sounded and the cymbals are sounded, and the wristlet of Ratī Satī [consort of Kāmadeva, god of love] is sounded. When the conch-shell is sounded all calamity disappears ! " <sup>1</sup> This leads to the general expulsion of evil which naturally takes place about the New Year. Marāthas call the fourth day of the Divālī Bali Pratipad, the new moon of Rājā Bali. He was a virtuous Daitya or demon king, who by his devotion and penances humbled the gods and became ruler of the three worlds. The gods in alarm appealed to Vishnu, who appeared in his Vāmana or Dwarf incarnation to restrain the pretensions of Bali. He asked Bali to grant him the boon of as much ground as he could cover in three strides, and when Bali assented Vishnu in two strides stepped over heaven and earth, but out of respect for Bali's piety he left him Pātāla, or the infernal regions. This is an old Vedic myth representing the course of the Sun through the three divisions of the universe.<sup>2</sup> Hence Bali is the typical righteous monarch, and on this day Marāthas and other Hindus rise before dawn, and the servants sweep the house, and place the dust in a basket over which a lamp is lighted. Then, crying " Poverty and trouble depart ! May the kingdom of Bali come ! " they fling the contents of the basket outside the house, accompanying the invocation with the beating of that magical implement, the winnowing fan.<sup>3</sup> Mr. B. A. Gupte<sup>4</sup> suggests a connection between the removal of the house

<sup>1</sup> Balaji Sitaram Kothare, *Hindu Holidays*, 1904, pp. 78 *et seq.* ; Mrs. S. Stevenson, *op. cit.* p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> J. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology etc.*, p. 42 ; A. A. Macdonald, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 37 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Hastings, *op. cit.* vol. v. pp. 754 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials*, p. 37 ; cf. Sir J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough, The Scapegoat*, pp. 135 *et seq.*, 144 *et seq.*

sweepings with that of the farm manure, which is needed at this time for the sowing of the spring crops. This is perhaps possible, but the expulsion of evil, typified by the removal of the house refuse, is the dominant principle of the observance. Then the inmates of the house bathe, put on new clothes, and the oldest lady worships an image of Rājā Bali set up in front of the house with sixteen lighted lamps round it. The service is followed by a discharge of crackers to scare the powers of evil.<sup>1</sup> With this expulsion of evil we may compare the cure for intermittent fever practised by the Lhota Nāgas. The patient gets up from his seat in his home, and puts any bits of rubbish, such as sticks or leaves, into an old carrying-basket. Taking up this load he says aloud, "I am going out to get some things." Having reached the outskirts of the village he hangs his load on a bush, and says, "Watch this: I am coming back very soon." He then leaves the load with the illness watching it, as he thinks, and returns by another path. Semās practise the same charm in cases of ophthalmia.<sup>2</sup>

A similar rite, possibly intended for the expulsion of evil, connected with the Dīvālī is the Hōī celebrated in the preceding week. In the Panjāb Hōī is identified with the goddess of smallpox, and unmarried girls make clay images of her, "with a view of obtaining their desires," and throw them into water after the Dīvālī.<sup>3</sup> The interpretation of this rite is obscure. It may be compared with European customs of flinging images of Death into water.<sup>4</sup> It may be a charm to promote rainfall and general prosperity, like the ceremonial bathing of Gaurī, the Mother

<sup>1</sup> Balaji Sitaram Kothare, *op. cit.* pp. 80 *et seq.*; Briggs, *op. cit.* p. 119; Mrs. S. Stevenson, *op. cit.* p. 265; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, vol. ii. p. 40, vol. v. p. 125; Russell, *op. cit.* vol. iv. p. 350.

<sup>2</sup> J. P. Mills, *The Lhota Nāgas*, p. 136; J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nāgas*, p. 231 *u.*

<sup>3</sup> M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol. vi. p. 295; *Panjāb Notes and Queries*, vol. ii. p. 148; Hastings, *op. cit.* vol. vii. p. 563.

<sup>4</sup> Sir J. Frazer *The Golden Bough*, *The Dying God*, p. 246.

goddess, by the Rājputs.<sup>1</sup> It may be merely a charm practised by the girls to protect their future husbands and children from smallpox. In this connection it may be noted that, in the rites of the Mother goddess Devī, of whom Sitalā, the smallpox goddess, is a manifestation, girls often act as officiants. In complex rites like these many motives are often found combined. It may also be relevant to the question of disease charms to refer to a curious belief. "At the equinox, especially the autumnal, on the day called Divaly, trees, herbs, plants talk and disclose the remedy for every malady. To hear them people hide in the forest."<sup>2</sup>

Other methods of expelling evil are the sham fight and the scapegoat. In northern India, sham fights, in which one side represent the demons and the other the powers of good, do not appear to be recorded, but in Madras "mimic combats take place," at the Dīpāvali or Dīvālī, "between parties who hurl lighted fireworks at each other; and these battles sometimes become very real, ending in a great deal of rioting."<sup>3</sup>

The employment of a human scapegoat on such occasions is not common in India, but a recent account from Lhasa states that "at the Tibetan New Year is enacted at the temple the annual ceremony of purifying the city of the evils of the outgoing year. The Lamas produce a beggar-man who is willing, through fanaticism and promise of eternal merit, to risk his life in the strangest of ceremonies. Naked, he clothes himself in the putrid entrails of animals, with the vile, bloody intestines coiled round his head, neck, arms, and body. He represents the evil, the disease, the ill-luck, and the bad things of last year. He runs out of the temple door, and the mad populace beat drums and blow

<sup>1</sup> Tod, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 666 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Goudinho de Eredia, 38 b, quoted by W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *The Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. ii. pp. 359 *π*.

<sup>3</sup> J. E. Padfield, *The Hindus at Home*, p. 189.

trumpets to frighten away the devil in him. They hurl stones and beat the beggar with sticks. They chase him through the streets out into the open country, if he does not get killed before."<sup>1</sup>

Various methods are adopted to ensure good luck for the coming year. The first is the worship of implements, a mode of infusing into them the energy and skill of the craftsman-owner. In the Central Provinces the Tamera copper-smiths quench their furnaces on new moon day in each month, at the Rāmnaumī, the birthday of the demigod Rāma, so called because it is held on the 9th day of the light fortnight of the month Chait (March-April), at the Durgā-pūjā, the feast in honour of the goddess Durgā, and for two days after the equinoxes at the Holi and Divālī; the Basors, workers in cane, worship their *bānkā* or curved knife at the Divālī; the Sonjharās, washers of gold dust, clean their implements at the Divālī, set them up before their huts, and offer coco-nuts and vermilion to them; Nāl barbers usually worship their implements—razors, scissors, or nail-parers—at the Divālī.<sup>2</sup> In the United Provinces Chamār curriers worship their tools at this festival.<sup>3</sup> In the same category may be placed the worship of animals by those castes which depend on them for their livelihood. The Hatkars, cultivators in the Deccan, worship their cows at the Divālī by tying a bunch of wool to their foreheads on which grains of rice are fixed, and the Beldār navvies, who use the ass to transport bricks and stone, place a lamp before it and pay reverence to it.<sup>4</sup>

On the same principle gambling is practised at the Divālī as a means of divination, "trying one's luck," when success, according to the laws of sympathetic magic, indicates that the winner will be lucky in the coming year. In

<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, 2nd October, 1922; L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 512.

<sup>2</sup> Russell, *op. cit.* vol. iv. p. 539, vol. ii. p. 212, vol. iv. pp. 263, 512.

<sup>3</sup> Briggs, *op. cit.* p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> Russell, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 206, vol. ii. p. 218.

the Vedic ritual, at the ceremony of the inauguration of a Rājā, the conventional chariot race, in which it is arranged that he shall win, is meant to secure for him speed and victorious might, and on various occasions during the ceremony a game of dice is played, which is supposed to have the magical effect of ensuring luck and gain for the winner.<sup>1</sup> Under police regulations in British India gambling in public is prohibited, but at the Dīvālī it is tacitly allowed in many places. Marāthas allow gambling at the Dīvālī, and persons whose principles would prevent them at any other time from approaching a gambling table, now try their luck.<sup>2</sup> In Nepāl gambling is allowed only at the Dīvālī, and goes on for ten days, five preceding the festival and five during which it lasts, the number of permitted days being periodically prescribed by the Government. Before 1851 there was no limit to the amount of the stakes, but this led to so much scandal that Mahārājā Jang Bahādūr, the Regent, ordered that the amount of the stake should be deposited before the game began, and that credit should not be allowed. Gambling in Nepāl is also permitted at the Janamashtamī, the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month Bhādon (August-September), the birthday of Krishna.<sup>3</sup> The Nepalese are inveterate gamblers, and a tale is told of a man who cut off his left hand and put it down under a cloth as his stake. When he won he insisted on his opponent cutting off his hand, or else restoring all his winnings.<sup>4</sup> In Kashmir, nearly all classes gamble at the Dīvālī under the belief that winning will bring them luck during the coming year.<sup>5</sup> In the Deccan, at the Dīvālī, men

<sup>1</sup> Rajendrala Mitra, *The Indo-Aryans*, vol. ii. pp. 43 *et seq.*; Hastings, *op. cit.*, vol. vi. p. 163, vol. viii. p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> T. D. Broughton, *Letters from a Makratta Camp*, ed. 1892, p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> H. A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nīpal*, vol. ii. pp. 352 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> D. Wright, *History of Nepal*, p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> F. Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 72. But Sir W. R. Lawrence (*The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 266) denies that the Kashmiris gamble, but this possibly is not inconsistent with the ceremonial gambling at the Dīvālī.



and women play chess till midnight in the hope that the goddess Pārvatī will bring them cartloads of treasure.<sup>1</sup> At their chief festival held in March by the Shans of Upper Burma, gambling is permitted to Burmese, Shans, and Chinese, but not to natives of India. The gambling booths are put up to auction, and even the Pongyi priests may be seen gambling in the lines of huts outside the gambling enclosure.<sup>2</sup> In the Panjāb, success in gambling at the Dīvālī is believed to bring good luck. Native gentlemen gamble only with their wives, so that, whoever wins, they lose nothing. Traders play to find out whether the next year will be lucky or not. If a man wins he speculates freely, but if he loses he confines himself to safe ordinary business.<sup>3</sup>

Like the Holī and Dasahrā festivals the Dīvālī is regarded as a *rite de passage*, a new start in the journey of life, and hence it is an auspicious time for beginning any business or undertaking. Bankers at this time settle their affairs, and accounts are drawn up and countersigned by their customers. After 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the last day of the year Brāhman priests are invited to attend the office, where the banker, his clerks, and friends assemble to worship the ledgers. The new account books are piled on a wooden stool in front of an image of Lakshmi, goddess of wealth, lighted lamps are placed round them, and flowers are strewn on the books. The priest offers a prayer to the goddess to favour the business during the coming year, and dipping his finger in saffron or red powder he makes round marks or a representation of the sacred symbol, the Swastika or fylfot, on the first page of each book. The service ends by his writing on the walls of the room the words "Salutation to the great Ganesa!" patron deity of enterprises, and "Mother Lakshmi help us! Cause our

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xviii, part i. p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Sir J. G. Scott, J. P. Hardiman, *op. cit.* part ii. vol. i. p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> *Panjāb Notes and Queries*, vol. ii. p. 152.

treasure-chests to overflow!" Presents are then distributed to Brāhmanas, relations, dependents, brokers, and friends.<sup>1</sup> In some cases, when a new account book is opened, the Brāhman writes on the third leaf the word "Sri," "honourable, auspicious," a title of Lakshmi, over and over again, so as to form a pyramid composed of copies of the lucky syllable. In the centre of this a leaf of betel is laid, and on it a current rupee, the newer the better. Then, by way of divination, the rupee is tossed up, and if it falls with a clear ringing sound it is a lucky omen for the coming year.<sup>2</sup> It may also be noticed that the term Divāliya is applied to a bankrupt, because he announces the fact of his failure by lighting one or two lamps before his house in broad daylight, a violation of the ordinary custom which implies that that there has been a disaster and that everything is upside down.

The Divāli, like the Dasahrā, marks the beginning of the cold season when the roads are open at the close of the annual rainy season. After it the predatory gangs start on their annual raids. The Bhātrās of the Panjāb, hawkers, pedlars, and swindlers, start on their tours after the Divāli, returning when the next year's rainy season begins. So do the Mīnās, the boldest gang robbers in the country, who often prowl as far as the Deccan and remain a year absent from home.<sup>3</sup>

When the simple animistic ritual of the Divāli, as it has been described, comes into the hands of the Brāhmanas, it is quickly so metamorphozed that it bears little resemblance to the original. But most of these accretions are only an extension or development of the primitive magic. Thus, among the Patānē Prabhu clerks of Bombay, the two festivals of the Dasahrā and Divāli are linked together by

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. ix. part i. p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. S. Stevenson, *op. cit.* p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> Rose, *Glossary*, vol. ii. p. 94, vol. iii. p. 103; M. Kennedy, *Notes on the Criminal Tribes of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 318.

the Kojāgarī Pārnima, or full-moon vigil, when women keep awake in the hope of receiving a boon from Mother Lakṣmī, who blesses only those whom she finds watching. This is followed by the Athvindhā, or eighth day festival, when a servant draws a protective line of ashes round the house to repel evil spirits. This leads to the Divālī. The day before the festival begins large metal waterpots are filled. An elderly woman of the family takes an Aghādā plant, the prickly chaff-flower (*achyranthus aspera*), said to be useful as a cure for snake-bite, snakes being active at this time.<sup>1</sup> She cuts from it six pieces each an inch long, and as many more as there are persons, including servants in the house. Then she fills a little bamboo basket with various fruits and leaves, making a packet for each inmate. For each of these she arranges a tiny lamp made of rice flour, and another is lighted to propitiate Yama, god of death. Lastly, she fills cups with sweet-smelling spices, oil, and coco-nut milk, and lights lamps to illuminate every corner of the house, while the children explode crackers and are regaled with sweetmeats. Next morning the head of the house is seated on a stool surrounded by these cups of spices and scented oil, and a lighted lamp is placed on each side of his stool. The family barber purifies him and he takes a ceremonial bath. Then, as he stands at the door, a lamp is waved around him. This simple protective ritual is interpreted to represent the reception of the god Vishnu-Krishna after he had destroyed Narakāsura, the demon of hell, in other words, the impersonation of ill-luck.<sup>2</sup> In addition the women make a series of protective drawings or diagrams near the house door.<sup>3</sup> An interesting feature of this rite is that, while the people of the house gather round the lights, explode fireworks, and make merry, a servant

<sup>1</sup> Sir G. Watt, *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, vol. i. pp. 81 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Vishnu Purana*, ed. H. H. Wilson, 1840, pp. 381 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Drawings of these interesting symbols are given by B. A. Gupta, *op. cit.* plate v. and pp. 40 *et seq.*

takes one of the lamps, goes to a neighbour's house, and tries to place it among his lights, saying "Take this, son-in-law!" But the servants of the neighbour are on the watch, and try to duck him without putting out the light. The transfer of the lights is due to some obscure motive; possibly it is a means of passing on good or bad luck. The final rite is the ceremonial expulsion of bad luck which has already been described.<sup>1</sup>

It is unnecessary to quote in detail the many legends which have been invented by Brāhmins to explain the origin of this ritual. They are for the most part naïve or jejune attempts to connect the observances with the cults of one or other of the deities of the orthodox pantheon.<sup>2</sup>

The festival is naturally a centre for other cults. Thus, the Dāvars of Bombay at the Divāli worship the Sun by throwing red lead towards him and offering chickens, which are not sacrificed but allowed to fly away into the jungle, possibly in the belief that they carry ill-luck and other evils with them.<sup>3</sup> At this time Mehtar sweepers in the Central Provinces worship their caste Saint, Lāl Beg, and the barbers in the Panjāb their Saint, Sāin Bhagat.<sup>4</sup>

Thus the Divāli seems to represent a complex of belief and ritual. The prominent feature is the use of lights at the autumnal equinox, like the Holī fire at the vernal equinox, to frighten away evil of various kinds. When it comes into Brāhman hands Lakshmī, the impersonation of good luck and prosperity, or Ganesa, lord of enterprises, takes the place of the vague animistic conceptions of the more primitive ritual. Again, as we have seen

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, xviii. part i. pp. 251 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> B. A. Gupte, *op. cit.* pp. 36 et seq.; W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, vol. ii. p. 295; *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xviii. part i. pp. 294 et seq.; E. T. Atkinson, *Gazetteer of the Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces*, vol. ii. p. 853; Thurston, *op. cit.* vol. v. p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xiii. part i. p. 157.

<sup>4</sup> Russell, *op. cit.* vol. iv. p. 226; Rose, *Glossary*, vol. iii. p. 149 n.; R. Greeven, *The Knights of the Broom*, p. 38.

reason to believe, at least among some of the aboriginal or pastoral tribes, the use of fire or lights is not a necessary ingredient of the ritual. The complex of observances is clearly marked in the variances of the festival. Thus, in the Panjāb villagers call the ordinary<sup>1</sup> Feast of Lamps, when the spirits of the ancestors revisit their homes, cleaned and lighted for their reception, and poverty and other evils are dispelled, the "Little" Divālī, which leads up to the more important Govardhan festival, at which Krishna, the divine herdsman, is worshipped.<sup>2</sup> The latter, save that it occurs about the same time, seems to have little connection with the ordinary Divālī, mostly a town or city observance, and specially popular among the mercantile classes. Again, in western India we have, besides the regular Divālī, the Devdivālī or "divine" Divālī, held on the 11th of the light fortnight of the month Kārttik, when the *śūdasī* plant is wedded to Vishnu, and the true Divālī includes the day on which wealth is worshipped and the night of darkness when evil spirits appear.<sup>3</sup> The regular Divālī in Bombay is followed by what is called the Ovālī or Bhāubij, the Bhaiyā Dūj of northern India, when sisters wave lamps before their brothers and receive gifts in return.<sup>3</sup> The complex of observances thus includes rites of many kinds: ancestor worship, snake worship, a parrot cult, reverence paid by artisans to the tools of their craft and by pastoral tribes to their cattle, the starting of work or enterprises, gambling, and so on. All these are, in their varied forms, connected with the primary object of the rites—the securing of good luck, the expulsion of evil—a complex of magical methods which are thus grouped together at the equinoxes.

(*The late*) W. CROOKE.

<sup>1</sup> Sir D. Ibbetson, *Punjab Ethnography*, pp. 119 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. S. Stevenson, *op. cit.* pp. 335 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> B. A. Gupta, *op. cit.* p. 17; *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xviii. part iii, p. 262 n. 2.

## SOME NAVAJO FOLKTALES AND CUSTOMS.

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ONE of the terms of reference of the Albert Kahn Travelling Fellowship is that the holder shall study the social and religious conditions of various peoples. The present paper is an attempt to show the result of studies undertaken with that object in view. The Federal Government was good enough to give me permission to visit the reservations and set a house at my disposal at Keam's Canyon. The Indian Agents were everywhere kindness itself, and I am especially indebted to Mr. Stephen Janus not only for helping my work but also for his great hospitality during my stay at Leupp (Arizona).

*Folktales.*—The tales contained in this paper were with few exceptions collected at the Indian Agency at Leupp ; they appear to differ in some respects from the majority of the published tales, although naturally such differences are rather in detail than in the main plot of the tales. My informant for most of the tales was an old Navajo medicine man who used to visit me nearly every day when I happened to be ill and helped to pass the time away by telling about the origin of his people. He was an old man of great intelligence, and almost as interested in the tales that I had to tell him about my people as I was in what he had to tell me. In nearly every case my interpreter was the official interpreter to the agent, a full blood Navajo boy who spoke English quite well. On one or two occasions I was fortunate enough to be able to use Mr. Roberts'

remarkable knowledge of the Navajo tongue. There are, however, certain differences between the Navajo of the region round Jeddito where Roberts has his store and those who live to the north of Leupp on the right bank of the little Colorado river whence came my other informants. The written history of the country, which coincides in many particulars with the traditions of the people, is one of romantic interest. The first expedition to reach the country was that of Coronado. Zuni had been previously visited by the Franciscan Friar Marcos, and it was apparently due to his reports that Coronado's expedition was planned. His diary gives little rise to great hopes, but such was the optimism and the greed of the Conquistadores that the little pueblo villages were magnified into flourishing and wealthy towns. A remnant of Coronado's expedition reached Zuni, whence two smaller expeditions were despatched. One was the first to reach the country where the Hopi and the Navajo reservations now are; the second was the first to see the Grand Canyon. The earliest mention of the Navajo occurs in 1598, fifty-eight years after Coronado's expedition. In the eighteenth century determined efforts were made by the Spanish fathers to convert the Navajo, but without success. Indeed the Navajo continued to keep up a kind of guerilla warfare on the Hopis and the whites till the middle of the nineteenth century, when in 1863 Kit Carson killed most of their sheep and took the greater part of the tribe into captivity at Fort Sumner in New Mexico. They were not released until 1867. At this time 7300 prisoners were held, but such a figure probably did not represent the whole tribe. About two years later a more accurate census gave their numbers as rather under 9000. In 1910 they numbered 22,455. They live at present on vast reservations in Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah, and owing to the size and inaccessibility of much of their territory it is probable that their numbers were under rather than over estimated. Some of their

country is even now almost unknown. It includes some of the remotest parts of the United States, and covers over 22,000 square miles, nearly half the size of England. Tyende, the most distant place to which the mail is carried, is 165 miles from the nearest railway station, and the north-western part of the reservation beyond the most distant stores is very inaccessible.

The first mention of the Navajo by name occurs in the early part of the seventeenth century. The word is derived from a Tewa Pueblo near Santa Clara in New Mexico, and means a large area of cultivated lands. It was applied by the Spaniards in the seventeenth century to certain Athapascan people who lived near by under the full name of Apache de Navajo. The tribe do not use this name, but call themselves simply Dinnee, that is "men." They speak an Athapascan language complicated by a vocabulary which has borrowed from many sources. There is considerable difference between the dialects spoken in various parts of the reservations.

The country has been described with great enthusiasm and with many purple patches by the novelist Zane Grey in such works as *The Riders of the Purple Sage* and *At the Foot of the Rainbow*. The latter novel is of interest, and describes the neighbourhood of Navajo Mountain and Rainbow Canyon. In his treatment of Indians Mr. Grey is less successful than in his treatment of landscape.

The Navajo is singularly well suited to his geographical environment, and in most of the tales the environment is a dominant factor which makes itself felt throughout. In great contrast to the Hopis, who are primarily a settled people living in their pueblos on the tops of almost inaccessible *mesas*, the Navajo is a pastoral nomad in a country which at first sight offers little attraction to the keeper of flocks and herds. The Navajo country is one of very great beauty. It consists of a region of great size made up of flat or very slightly tilted rocks which are deeply cut by



deep canyons, in contrast to which tall *mesas* and buttes stand out like sentinels over the plain. The whole country is deeply eroded both by wind and by water, adding a variety of feature to the landscape, a variety both of form and colour which is so often lacking in deserts. Most of the river beds are dry for the greater part of the year ; when the rain comes they fill up very rapidly and make travelling impossible. There is reason to believe that certain changes have taken place in recent times, and, as reference is made in the tales to changes, they must be considered here. Over much of the Navajo country there are ruins of old pueblos which have been deserted for a long period. In many cases these seem to have been deserted by their inhabitants rather than captured by storm, as, for instance, we know the pueblo of Awatobi to have been. It has been suggested that the cause of this desertion is the gradual desiccation of the country since the time when the pueblos originally were built. We know of the case of one or two wells which at one time had water but now are dry, but on the whole at present the evidence to confirm this theory is not entirely satisfactory. For instance, to-day the Navajo have good crops of corn close to the old deserted pueblo near Jeddito which the Navajo call "Undlenakosekad," but probably desiccation is an important factor. Secondly, it is possible that, as has happened elsewhere in the south-west owing to the excess of certain salts in the soil, some areas have gradually become unfit for cultivation, and the people have migrated. It is also possible that the warlike activities of the Navajo have induced the people to migrate. At present, when war is a prerogative, at least in the United States, of the Federal Government, the Hopis live secure on their *mesa* tops, but the tradition of the invitation of the Tewa to hold the gap on First *Mesa* is still in people's minds.

It is clear in any case that the Navajo had not been in the country which they held before the coming of the

Spaniards for a very long time, and that their predecessors in the land were on the whole in a higher state of culture. The story of their origin which they told me runs after this fashion.

In the beginning there were only one man and one woman and a coyote, just these three only, and they were made by the earth. The man and woman married, and it started from there, and they had children. The children died, and their father and mother made medicine with them, the man taking one and the woman the other. Up in Colorado there is a big mountain. On the mountain was a big cloud. After the cloud moved they found a baby on the mountain, and they took it and brought it up, and she was called Mother by the Navajos. Her name is Yothoistyan. (This I have translated throughout this paper as White-bead-woman. I think that she is probably *Estsánatlehi*, the woman who changes, in another form.) The White-bead-woman married the Sun, who was a man at this time. The first man and woman went away at this time, where exactly is not known. From them come all sicknesses, because they took their children for medicine. (Who this mysterious first man and woman were I did not succeed in finding out. They do not really belong to the story, but, as will be seen later, most of these tales have various contradictory elements in them.) Only the White-bead-woman and the Sun were left. They had two children. The first was a boy called *Nayézesegoni* (which may be rendered the Slayer of foemen), and the second was a girl, *Tobadgestini*. The first is the son of the Sun, but the girl is the daughter of dripping water (that is the literal translation of her name). At that time the old ruins were alive, and there were giants and big birds and these ate up the ruins, but the Slayer killed them, although he did not do this till he was grown up.

There is a large number of stories dealing with the exploits of these two children: I was only able to collect the following.

The White-head-woman had two children, and she brought them up. Every morning, before the Sun came up, they had to run to the east, the south, the west, and the north, (The Navajo always mention the points of the compass in this order.) They had to do this till they were grown up, and it made them very strong. When they were grown up, they came to their mother and asked who their father was. She would not tell them. She said at first that their father was a little hill. They did not believe this, and kept on asking her, but she never would tell them. All this happened up north towards the mountains in Colorado. After they were grown up, they wandered about trying to find out who their father was. Finally the wind told them. So they went back to their mother, and asked her once more who their father was. She said that to find their father was a hard journey. Finally she admitted that the boy Nayezezegoni was the son of the Sun. He said he was going to see the Sun, and he started on his journey and had to face many hardships. He and his sister went together, and the wind guided them. The Sun had four things which watched over his house. First there was a mountain lion which had to be passed; the wind told them what to say to the lion, so they passed it safely. Next they had to pass two bears; the wind told them what to say to the bears, so they passed them too. Then there was a snake watching the house of the Sun; the wind again told them the words to say, and they passed on. The fourth guard was the lightning, but the wind told them a word that they might pass that; so they came safe to the house of the Sun. Inside there was a woman who was also the wife of the Sun. From what the Indians tell the house was in water, and it was built of white stone. So they went in there, and the woman asked them why they came; they said they came to see their father; she asked them who told them who their father was. The wind was there in the house, so they did not tell the woman who had told them.

Inside the house on the east side there was a black roll of cloud, on the south side it was blue, on the west side yellow, and on the north side white. Then the woman took them and hid them in the white cloud on the north side. After they were hidden, back came the Sun; they could hear him rattling like iron for he wore a kind of armour. He asked "Who are these two who came in?" The woman said that no one had come in. He repeated his question four times, and the woman answered the same thing each time. Then she said "I thought you told me that you were not doing anything when you went out, yet here are two persons who say they are your children." (The story teller has got a little wrong here. What really happened was that the woman refused to answer his question three times, but when he asked a fourth time she had to answer, because among the Navajos you must always answer if a question is asked four times. Her remark is an interesting comment on the high position of women among the Navajo.) The Sun went to the cloud on the east side and rolled it back; there was nothing in it. So he went to the cloud on the south and unrolled it; there was nothing in it. So he went to the other clouds. When he unrolled that on the north side, the two jumped out. When they were found he wanted to get rid of them, so he said he would get a sweat bath ready for them. He heated iron in the place of stones. Some folk helped the children. The teller of the story did not know who it was who gave this help. It was some *deyinn* anyway. (I cannot give an English word for this. Marcus, my interpreter, was in difficulty about it. He said it was anything that happened, a kind of medicine, medicine in the Indian sense, a spirit; when the wind was helping the pair this word was used in composition with wind.) This *deyinn* dug a hole inside the sweat-house, and the two went inside this hole. The Sun asked them if it was warm. They said "No." He asked them four times, and the fourth time they said it was hot. The Sun poured water

on the iron. He wanted to suffocate them with the steam. Then he threw up the covers of the sweat-house, but the boy and girl were safe. The Sun tried three other ways of killing the two. The teller of the tale did not know what they were; very few of the Indians do. \* After he had tried these ways, and the two were still safe, he came home. He found he had two more children in his house, a boy and a girl. Then he went out to get a kind of magic plant. It was in his mind to boil this plant and to kill them by its emetic effect, for the plant would turn their intestines inside out. The wind knew, and told them to get a kind of grub, a sort of caterpillar with a horn on its tail (no doubt the larva of some moth), that would prevent the plant having any bad effect on them. He boiled the plant, and they drank the concoction four times, but owing to the grub they were not poisoned, so they were kept quite safe. After he had failed these five times to kill them, he said he must be their father, so he dressed them like his other two children. (In this case it seems as if the teller got a little confused, although he assured me that he was telling the tale as it should be told. I believe that he has really missed out one method of killing. Possibly one of them had to do with the grub, and that at first he really did forget and then remembered dimly the methods employed. There does not seem to be any reason for producing two other children at this particular juncture.) After the two were dressed, the Sun asked them what they wanted; they said they had come there for one reason only. In the land from which they had come giants and birds were destroying everything. There was a bird near Shiprock (thirty-five miles from Farmington, New Mexico), and a giant near Zuni; there was also a beast with horns. After they had told their story, their father promised them each an arrow made of lightning. He took them back with him to the sky, and asked them where they wanted to go. They were shot down by lightning, and reached the earth near Zuni, near

a lake where the giant came to drink.<sup>1</sup> They wandered round in order to get a chance of killing the giant. The giant came down to drink. He looked to the east to see if there was anyone there. The two hid. Then he looked to the south, to the west, and to the north, then he looked to the east again, and as he did not see anyone he went down to drink, and he drank till there was only a little pool where the lake had been. The man came up, and the giant saw his reflection in the water, so he drank up the water thinking he was drinking up the man too as well as the water. Then, when he had drunk up the water, he turned round and saw the man, so he said, "Here is my chance to kill." The man repeated this. They did it four times; after the fourth time the giant lost his temper. The wind was always with Nayezezegoni, and told him what to do. The giant had four clubs (described by the interpreter as four iron throwing sticks). The wind told the man to go to the right, he did so and the giant missed him, then to the left and the giant missed him again, then he told him to jump and the throwing stick went underneath, and then to bend down and the fourth went over him. So he picked up the four throwing sticks. The giant was dressed in armour. The wind told Nayezezegoni which way to throw. He threw to the right and knocked off part of the giant's armour; he threw to the left and hit the giant again and knocked off another piece of his armour. He threw the third time low, and the fourth time high. Each time he hit the giant, and when he had hit him four times he had knocked off all his armour. The Sun said that now the armour had all been knocked off it was his turn, so he knocked the giant down with lightning. Then the man used the lightning that his father had given him and killed the giant. The blood started to run out of his mouth, and

<sup>1</sup> A similar motif occurs in a story of the Zuni people (Cushing, *Zuni Folk Tales*, p. 170), where a boy and his rattler wife are sent on their return journey with the lightning to speed them on their journey. In this case also the boy is given arrows by the sun.

flowed back in two streams behind his head. Nayezeesegoni stuck his club into the ground to prevent the two streams of blood joining, as if they had the giant would have come to life again. The blood formed into a lava flow, and the club into a rock of mica, and they are there to this day. After Nayezeesegoni had finished killing the giant, his younger brother who had been with him went home, and he was left alone. So he cut the heart out and took the scalp, and went to look for his mother. He found an old, old woman (she was not really a woman of course, she was a *deyinu*). This old woman was almost dying of old age. So he hung up his trophies and went into her house. She asked him what he was doing, and called him grandson, so now all old women call the young men grandson. She did not recognize him because he had changed while he had been away. She also had grown older. There were four doors in her house. She went in the door to the east, and when she came back her hair was black; she went in to the door to the south, and when she came back she appeared to be middle-aged; she went through the door to the south, and when she came back she was in the prime of life; she went through the door to the north, and she came back a young woman and Nayezeesegoni knew that she was his mother. This is where the story ends as far as my informant knew the details, or was willing to tell me. Afterwards, he added, Nayezeesegoni went to the place where the beast with horns was and killed that, and to Shiprock and killed the bird. Other Indians know these stories, but not many of them.

There are a lot of stories of what Nayezeesegoni and his sister did. These stories are used for ceremonies, the story and the ceremony going together.

So Yothoistyan, the White-bead-woman, went back to the west where the Sun goes down. She is there now. Every time the Navajos pray they mention her. She is their mother. Her children went back to the place they had come from, and disappeared up in Colorado at a place

where two rivers meet. They did not go until they had arranged matters and had killed the things which were eating up the ruins. Then the Dinné (the Navajo) were made. Up in a mountain the White-bead-woman Yothoistyan took four ears of Indian corn, white, blue, red, and a mixed ear, and she laid them down and made two men and two women, and they married and had children. They pray to Yothoistyan, to the Sun, and also to the earth. Before White-bead-woman Yothoistyan went away she told them that from henceforward, if they were afraid of anything, they were to pray to it and to use the corn pollen, and then the wind and the river and so on will always obey. So they always pray and use the corn pollen. They pray to the *deyinn* of the wind and the rain. Even rivers have *deyinn*. If the rain *deyinn* listens they always have rain. There is a snake *deyinn* and a coyote *deyinn*. Each has its own name, and the old medicine men know these names and the stories connected with them. It sometimes takes a year to learn this. The ceremonies are decreasing because the old men die without handing them on to anyone else.

Everything has *deyinn*,—bears, lightning, and everything else. Only a few Indians know their real names. You can pray to them without knowing the names. But they will always obey the real name. There was someone called Beochetteh. He made all the *deyinn*. When he left the earth he went to the moon. He has control of the *deyinn* of animals and of the wind. You pray to the *deyinn* themselves, but also to Beochetteh, and you pray by means of a shaman who knows how to do so. If the sheep are sick, you pray to the *deyinn* of the sheep, and also to the maker of that *deyinn*.

The following tale, which was told me by Mr. Stephen Janus, shows that sometimes it is not only the medicine men who can effect the necessary control of the *deyinn*. On one part of the reservation the sheep were dying of



sickness. There was a little girl at the school at Leupp who could stop the sickness of the sheep, so her father and mother came down to the school and asked if she might be allowed to go home. She was allowed, and went away into the desert and talked to the *deyinn* of the sheep and the sickness stopped; at least the Indians said it did.

*Marriage.*—In considering the systems of marriage among the Navajos, it is important to remember that here, as elsewhere in this paper, I am referring very definitely to the present system, which may have been considerably affected both by the contact with white and with Pueblo culture. The Navajo system differs in many important respects from that of their neighbours. Among the latter the woman is always the dominant person. She proposes, pays the bridegroom price, and performs other ceremonies even to-day. The Hopi system in Walpi is as follows:—The old relationships have broken down owing to the extremely small remnants of the people. Mother's sisters' children are brothers and sisters; first cousins on the paternal side have been known to marry, but only where other persons have not been available. To-day they marry outside the family but not outside the clan. The girl, when she is fourteen or fifteen, goes with her mother to the house of the young man, without consulting him, and calls and offers cakes to his mother. If she refuses, the matter is at an end. If not, the visit is repeated four times. Finally she has to grind about 2000 lbs. of corn, some of which goes to her mother-in-law and some to that lady's brothers, in the latter case as payment for weaving the wedding garment and the shroud. Then she goes with her mother to the house of her future husband, and a screen is put across the house and she finishes the grinding. Permission to do this final grinding is the equivalent of a marriage contract, and at this time she is allowed to take down the squash blossoms into which her hair has been done as the sign that she is a virgin of

marriageable age. After a day or two the marriage is consummated. She stays in her husband's mother's house a few days, and then takes her man back to her mother's house. It is the ambition of every Hopi woman, as her children grow up; to have a dower house to which the married daughters can bring their husbands. The work of the latter is to plant corn and look after the fields. At one time divorce was quite easy, although federal law is trying to alter the Indian custom, to which they adhere as far as they can. The wife put her husband's saddle outside the door, and then he went back to his mother. He usually knew when this was coming, because it is the custom when a man returns from the fields in the morning to get his breakfast for the women folk to say "We are thankful you have returned." If she omits this courtesy, he knows she will probably divorce him. The children belong to mother's clan, but there are one or two curious customs. Paternity is recognized by the husband's mother nursing the child. She has the right of giving the child its infant name. She will usually choose something that suggests her clan, that is the father's clan, not the clan to which the child belongs. Tom Pavatea, the storekeeper at Polacca, is so called because his father was of the Water snake clan (*pavatea* in Hopi meaning tadpole). There is an amusing story in this connection. The chief snake woman became a Christian, and she was called by her son's wife's people Cactus flower, a sort of thorn in the flesh, although the name is used otherwise. When her son had a son she called him Cactus flower. Very often the name will contain a part of the clan name, for instance a syllable of the whole clan name, or something which forms part of the object after which the clan is named. The people of the sand clan might call a child "sage brush."

The economic aspect of marriage is very important. The woman wants to get her value for the cost of the corn and the labour of grinding. She will therefore not divorce so

very easily. At present the Hopi ladies are all extremely anxious to possess sewing machines. If a man can manage to acquire sufficient money to buy his wife a machine, she is not likely to divorce him, as he would of course take it back to his mother with his saddle and the rest of his gear. A girl who is not a virgin cannot buy a man. She will therefore have to marry one who has already been paid for, an old man, a divorcee, or a widower, for no man can be paid for twice.

The Navajo system differs from this in many respects, although there are some points of contact. The Hopi phratries are well organized, and live together wherever this is possible. Considerable difference of opinion seems to exist about the Navajo system, and the matter is complicated because there are as far as I could gather no specific names for the phratries, as such. They are just called clans. The people say that the clans started when they were driven from the underworld. Clan names were given both to men and women, and the names were mostly where they went to; for example, some went near a brackish spring, so they were called *Tapahé* "bitter water." They scattered still further, and the phratries were subdivided into clans. "Bitter water" has four such clans. The Red house phratry began by the earliest members living in a red house. By and by they increased, and one family were known for the number of their goats; they became the founders of the *Thlizzithlani* or "Many goats" clan. In regard to this name Frazer says that "with the single exception of the Navajo name 'Many Goats,' which must be a modern designation, no clan bears the name of an animal." There are at present, however, several of these clans which appear to be of a similar modern origin. At Jeddito the *Balithani* ("Many horses") clan are well represented, and at Leupp there are members of the *Bethlani* ("Many sheep") clan. The *Totzoni Shushes*, or "The bears," is also an exception to Frazer's dic-

tum.<sup>1</sup> There are also a number of clans which give the origin of bands which have been incorporated, e.g. the Nakaichini or Mexicana. Otherwise both the stories of the people themselves and the names confirm Frazer's statement that the majority of the names are local. The clans are sometimes called by different names in different places, but the people will discuss the names and recognize brothers even though at first sight there is no relationship. At the Second Mesa there is a great rock, and this the people call "The Corn Rock." Some time ago, so the story runs, there was a great famine, and the Hopis bartered their

<sup>1</sup> The following is the fullest list which I could obtain of the clan names in present use. I have arranged them in two series, first, those in use among the Eastern Navajo, collected at Jeddito, and, second, those which were represented at Leupp and district. Where the letter L is placed after a name in the first list I found the name or one very similar in use at Leupp. H refers to the list of clans given in the Handbook of American Indians published by the Smithsonian Institution. Both lists are mutually exclusive, i.e. all the clan names collected at Jeddito are exogamous, as are those collected at Leupp. It is possible, however, that the Navajo would consider that some of the names collected at Jeddito were variants of the forms occurring at Leupp, and that the members of two clans which appear as separate in my list are really brothers.

*Clan names at Jeddito:—*

Todache'eeni. Little Water. L.H.  
 Todakonji. Bitter Water. H.  
 Thizirithlani. Many Goats (Glascheni). L.H.  
 Totzoni Shushes. Big Water Bears.  
 Balilani. Many Horses.  
 T'acheni. L.  
 Tapatha. L.H.  
 Mahadishkess.  
 Synageni.  
 Ke'ani.  
 Senjikemi (? Sanjakcheni, L.).  
 Bitani. Folded Arms. H.  
 Asheni (? Ashilhi, H.).

*Clan names at Leupp (other than those included in above list).*

Totzoni, Big Water, H. Cf. Todache'eeni, *vide supra*.  
 Kimhlitshi. Red House, H.  
 I'tnageni.  
 Nakaicheni. Mexican, H.  
 Tanesjacheni.  
 Pinbitho. Deer Spring, H.  
 Chia'ahni.  
 Bethlani. Many Sheep.  
 Hask'anhastzochi.

children for bread with the Navajos and brought them down to this rock. Unfortunately I have no data as to what clans received them. Among the Hopis there is the following story about incorporation. The First Mesa people attacked Awatobi, and captured a number of women. These were drafted to the clans to which they belonged, for being Pueblo women they belonged to the same clans as the Hopis, or at least to similar clans. The clan mother considered them as her children, and arranged for their weddings. The men who captured them had no rights. Similarly, strange women are by a convenient fiction adopted into a clan. There was up on the First Mesa last year a Pima girl married to a Hopi. When she had little disagreements with her husband she went to see her "mother," i.e. the chief woman of her adopted clan.

All members of the same phratry are brothers and sisters, and children belong to their mother's clan. The father's clan, and, I believe, the father's phratry, are cousins. Blood relations are also cousins, e.g. paternal uncle's children. Marriage between brothers and sisters or cousin marriages are forbidden. This is a stricter system than that of the Hopis, but it is possible that the present relaxation of the Hopi rules is due to the smallness of the population. Among the Tigua of Isleta, where the organization has broken down still further, the clans have ceased to be exogamous, and the only bar to marriage is blood relationship.

The arrangements for marriages among the Navajo are fundamentally different from those of the Hopi. The marriage is arranged by the fathers of the young people. A man buys his wife, and for the most part the financial aspect is of great importance. They always try to marry into rich clans, a thing which can usually be done if a man happens to be wealthy individually, or if he happens to belong to a rich clan himself. The only exception occurs when an old man of a rich clan wishes to marry a young and

pretty girl, even though she belongs to a poor clan. The girl herself does not much like such a wedding, but her folk are usually very glad to get such a rich man into their clan, so the wedding usually takes place. There is no rule, as among the Hopi, that a girl who is not a virgin on marriage must marry an old man. I know of cases of girls accepting lovers, but this was at the Indian school, and is, I think, an abnormal condition. Girls of that age would have been already married if they had been with their own folk.

When a man wants to marry, he arranges with the father of the girl to pay so many sheep, goats, and horses. The boy and his father go to the girl's house on the day of the wedding, bringing the bride price. If this is satisfactory, a ceremonial meal is eaten in which the eating together of the sacred food by the young couple is an essential part. Particular and very beautiful baskets are used for the wedding ceremony, which, curiously enough, are not made by the Navajo themselves but by Piute women. They say that in old time they were made by Piute women who had been incorporated into the tribe. After marriage a man may not look at his mother-in-law; a separate house is therefore built for the young people. The trader at Jeddito told me that if the two happened to be in the store at the same time the woman would be covered with a blanket. If the man were to look at her he would become blind.

There was one case which occurred while I was in the south-west which was of interest because it combined to a certain extent both types of marriage. A Hopi boy insisted on marrying a Navajo girl, a useless thing who could only herd sheep. He had to pay for her not only his own sheep but also some from his clan. He was hoping to be able to pay those back.

The Navajo and the Hopis are brought much into contact with each other, and trade to a large extent. The Hopi women do the trading on their side, and the Navajo men. It is an interesting comment on their respective

systems. There is a further point which deserves consideration, though it is away from the strict subject of my paper. The marriage system of the Navajos, even if it is not always strictly adhered to, on the whole promotes a high sexual morality. It would be interesting to know whether the comparative absence of venereal disease amongst them is due to their rules, or whether they have gained immunity in other ways.

*Birth.*—I have unfortunately no exact details about birth customs of the Navajo, nor in regard to the recognition of the child, but I have reason to believe that, as among the Hopis, recognition by the paternal grandmother is of importance. The Hopis take great care of the expectant mother, and the Navajos also lay considerable stress on the period of pregnancy.

During pregnancy a woman is particularly liable to the influence of the things which she may see. The medicine men explain the reason somewhat in this fashion. Way back the snakes and the coyotes talked like men, and so did the wind. They were made back there, and they all danced. A man was going along. He came to a deer which had already been killed. He gave thanks to the killer of the deer, whoever he might be, and cut it up. He took out the intestine, which was fat, and turned it inside out and put it on a stick, and was eating it when it turned into a snake and went down his throat. So he too turned into a snake, and lay on the ground as a snake does. The wind came along, and he started a singing—i.e. a magical ceremony. He made four hoops, and passed them over the snake, and when he passed the first the snake's skin rolled back from the head, the second and it rolled back from the chest, and finally, after the fourth had been passed over him, he became a man again. If a person is sick, his mother will remember that when she was pregnant she saw two snakes copulating, or a snake eating a rabbit. Then the people will remember this tale, and will go through the same singing

which the wind made. A man whose mother saw such a sight must never eat the intestine, head, heart, or tail of any animal.

*Medicine men.*—This story illustrates several of the essential beliefs of the Navajo. First that an experience of the expectant mother has an important effect on the life of the unborn babe, but that this effect can be discovered apparently only by experiment. The medicine men told me that you did not know which of the many sicknesses and so on might affect a man until he actually experienced one; then you had to look for a cause. Secondly, the close association of a tale and a ceremony is brought out. The medicine man would not be able to cure this particular kind of illness unless he knew the tale, because in the tale the proper magical ceremony is explained. It may sometimes happen that the man who knows the tale about a certain kind of illness is away, and, to use a modern analogy, it is no use employing a nose specialist to cure stomach ache. When I was at Jeddito, Hubble, the trader at Gannado, made a great singing because his father was ill, and also because such a singing would collect a crowd of Indians from a big territory and so would be good for trade. But one woman complained bitterly that her boy was ill (he had overeaten himself), and there was not a qualified man in the place to do the proper singing.

The medicine man is then a properly qualified man, and the tales in most cases are his stock-in-trade, a circumstance which makes it all the more difficult to induce him to part with them. In addition to the tales he also has his medicine bag, which again is a bit of personal and private property. While I was at Leupp an incident occurred which is of interest in this connection. Some years back, at a singing, a medicine man stole some turquoises, which he hid in his medicine bag and which therefore remained unknown and lost. When he died, the bag was opened and the stones distributed among the heirs. This soon came to the ears



of the rightful owners, who at once laid a claim to them. The point that was of special interest is that, where the stones had passed into other families and could not be given back, the claimants were even prepared to pay for them. They kept repeating that it was not the value of the stones, which is considerable among the Navajos, but because they had been associated with the family for so long a time. I was particularly interested to discover if there were any current folktales about turquoises as they set such a value on them, but the old men kept insisting that there was no magical value in the stones, but that the Indians held them in the same esteem as the white man. So many assured me of this fact that, were it not for the extremely important place in Navajo economics held by the stones, I should be inclined to believe it. In any case, however, I have no tales about it.

*Death, origin of.*—We have given a few tales about the origin of the people and about their life. The origin of death they describe as follows. The Navajo people came from the underworld. They were driven up by water somewhere in Colorado. After they had been on the earth four days, one of them, a woman, died. They could not find her, so they went back to look for her. They looked down into the underworld, and saw her there combing her hair. She would not look up, but said that anyone who died would go back there where they came from; so a ghost goes back there now. The ghosts cannot return to the earth. The story goes that, when a man dies, he protects his property and whatever he left behind, even though he has gone away and can never come back. Whoever touches a dead man's property, or even the house in which he died, will be unlucky. How the ghost could bring bad luck the medicine men could not tell me, because it is certain that they cannot come back from the underworld.

This story does not quite link up with the previous tales. Although this last one, and that about the creation of the

Navajo nation, were told me by the same man, the two tales do not hang together, as there is no previous mention of the underworld. I pointed out the inconsistency to the old man, who admitted it, but said that the tales went that way, but that there were others which came in between like the further adventures of Nayezezegoni, and that he did not know these tales; very few Indians did.<sup>1</sup>

The Navajo tales have not in many ways the charm of some of the Pueblo tales, and unfortunately they are rapidly dying as the Indians come more and more into contact with the whites. We are fortunate in possessing a very complete work on their language and folklore in the dictionary published by the Franciscan Fathers at St. Michael's. My great regret is that I have not been able to consult this invaluable work in preparing this paper, as there does not seem to be a copy in Oxford. I hope, however, that these tales may be of interest as they were collected among a different branch of the Navajo from those among whom the Fathers have worked.

L. H. DUDLEY BUXTON.

<sup>1</sup>It will be found very interesting to compare the tales which were collected first-hand by Mr. Buxton in 1921 with the fuller versions collected and translated by Major Washington Matthews in *Navaho Legends*, issued by the American Folk-Lore Society in 1897. On pp. 29-31 of that publication will be found a list of 51 gentes which shows marked difference from Mr. Buxton's list on p. 307 *supra*, and on pp. 104-34 a version of the story of Yothoistyan, who is distinguished from Etsanatiehi. The variations illustrate well the rapid shrinkage and approaching disappearance of Navajo folklore which, as Mr. Buxton points out, are a consequence of contact with the world of whites.

[A. R. W.]

## SWEDISH CHRISTMAS CUSTOMS.

BY DR. A. KELLGREN CYRIAX.

*(Read at Meeting, May 16th, 1923.)*

I WAS born in London, but my father was a Swede, and I was sent for some years to a Swedish school in the heart of the country. Before that, however, I was acquainted with Swedish folk dances round the Christmas tree, which were kept up by my father, who loved old customs. When I was ten years old, a younger sister, two brothers, and myself learned to dance some of the then just rediscovered national dances, which were taught to us by two students of Upsala University, members of the newly-formed "Philocoros" society. That was nearly forty years ago, and our dancing was then looked on as a very unusual entertainment, but now you will find country dance clubs all over Sweden. I have spent more than one Christmas in rural Sweden, the last occasion being in 1914.

As Christmas approaches, tremendous preparations are made, even in the smallest cottage. Following tradition these material preparations are entered into with almost religious fervour, so that no one minds working long and late, with hurried and scrappy meals, in order to get everything ready in time. They begin about six weeks or a month beforehand by slaughtering the pig or pigs, from which are made many different kinds of sausages, haggis, and black puddings, and many of the better joints are pickled with salt in big tubs. Tallow-candle dips are still made in some places, and a three-armed candle is much in request.

Baking comes next in importance. Large quantities

of rusks, biscuits, and hard bread are made, in fact sufficient to last for about two months, the finer sweet and sour bread and special Yule cakes being made as late as possible. The hard bread is made in large round shapes with a hole in the middle, and these are threaded on a pole which is fixed under the ceiling; the bread is sometimes made two inches thick, and is so hard that it has to be broken with a hammer before it can be eaten.

Then a tremendous washing is done at the home laundry, which is usually situated at a little distance from the main building. The laundry was formerly also used for a steam bath on Saturdays, and especially on Christmas Eve. I might mention *en passant* that Swedish farm-houses, with their stables and outhouses, are usually built in the form of a square. In addition the whole house is thoroughly scoured and polished, and generally brightened up. Everything is done on a lavish scale and very thoroughly, so as to last a long time, as there are great difficulties in the way of repeating such cleaning in a climate where in winter all the water is frozen and special preparations have to be made for heating and drying. There must also be great plenty of food, as you do not know in advance how many guests may arrive and everybody must be made welcome, especially on Christmas Eve. Even in my father's house in London odd Swedes used to drop in on Christmas Eve to *doppa i grytan* (dip in the saucepan).

As Christmas draws near, on the 15th December, known as "Lucia Day," it is customary to sit up all night to complete any Christmas presents that have not yet been finished, and to receive the visit of friends dressed up as "Lucia," whose costume is a white garment with a crown of candles round her flowing tresses, carrying a tray of coffee and cakes to help one through the night of work. Lucia goes from house to house doing the same kind deed. Sometimes she goes alone, but she may be accompanied by *stjärne-gossarne* (star-boys), who act like the English

mummers. Lucia owes her origin to a mediæval legend. Once upon a time, in a certain district where the poor were starving just before Christmas, Lucia went out at night and carried food to them secretly. She was seen crossing the frozen lake with a crown of light round her head, and after her death she was declared a saint. The imitation of her halo by a crown of candles is somewhat dangerous, and is now dying out, but the bringing of coffee and cakes continues.

During the last few days the Christmas tree has to be cut down in the forest, and brought back on a sledge with branches of pine and juniper. The fine twigs of the pine and juniper are chopped up into small pieces, which are strewn on the newly scrubbed white boards of the hall and kitchen floors; this prevails at all ceremonies, even funerals.

On Christmas Eve, the morning is spent in final preparations for the dinner. The cows and horses are given a good extra feed, and sheaves of corn are placed on long stakes in the yard for the wild birds. In some far-away places, a bowl of rice porridge is placed in the barn to propitiate a little gnome who, according to the temper he is in, either assists in your work or hatches mischief against you; many Swedish sayings refer to this being, who is depicted on Christmas cards as a tiny old man in a red cap and grey clothes and is known as *Tomte-Nisse*. Dinner begins at about two o'clock, and if possible is eaten in the kitchen, which has previously been decorated with streamers of bright colours fixed to the walls and hanging from the ceiling. In olden times these were probably made of hand-woven bright materials, but now coloured paper is chiefly used. The pine needles on the floor give a special fragrance to the air. At the dinner master and man, mistress and maid, all sit at the same table.

The menu begins with a great variety of *hors d'œuvres*,—little omelettes, smoked and pickled fishes, fried meat

balls, bright-coloured herring salad, cold sausages cut up, etc., etc.,—with which are drunk small glasses of *brännvin* (a kind of gin), formerly home-distilled. This portion of the meal is consumed while standing, or just sitting anywhere, everybody helping themselves to what they fancy.

The next course consists of various kinds of hot boiled pork sausages, boiled pickled ham, and salt beef, and particularly either a piece of a small sucking-pig served whole or a slice off the chops of a hog's head. The latter dish is put on the table with a bright-red apple between the jaws; the bouillon in which it has been boiled, which is very fat, is left in a saucepan on the fire, and everyone goes to it to dip the piece of bread which he eats with the meat. This is called *dopp i grytan*. Brown beans prepared with treacle are one of the delicacies to be eaten with the meat dishes to counterbalance the fat, and home-brewed ale is drunk with them.

Then follow flaky pastries, and special batter pastries (*kleneter*) are eaten with jam. Wine is served, old national songs are sung, and speeches made about Yuletide, good old Sweden, the host and hostess, the cook, etc. Coffee is served, and at odd intervals during the afternoon fruit, almonds, raisins, and more coffee are consumed. Towards evening the Christmas tree is lighted, and everybody who can joins in the dances round it, singing *Nu är det Jul igen, och Julen varar väl till Paska, nej det var inte sant, ty därimellan kommer Fastän* ("Now it is Yuletide again, and Yuletide will last methinks till Easter; no, this cannot be true, as 'twixt the two comes Lent"). This shows what an important festival Christmas was.

The Swedish singing dances are believed to have come into existence shortly after the year 1000 A.D. Just previous to this time everybody had been taking life very mournfully, as it was universally believed that the world was coming to an end in that year, and in the reaction from this expectation people started singing and dancing. The

singing usually comprised a crude statement of fact by one singer, followed by a refrain (which might, or might not, be appropriate) in which everybody joined and which was repeated at the end of every verse; the singer would then lead the dancers, and the others imitate his movements, as in the final dance round the tree, *Hej, tomtegubbar, slå i glaset* ("Hey, men, clink your glasses"). The more complicated dances came from abroad in the Middle Ages, taking form and colour from their surroundings, some dances now surviving only in local areas. These dances usually comprised only slow and measured movements and steps. Later on the strong influence of the wild Polish dances was felt, although the Swedish dances seem to have been less affected than those of some other countries; the Swedish dance most influenced was the *Hambo polska*. The music was usually played by a solo fiddler, though now the concertina is much used, especially in the south of Sweden.

After the dancing round the Christmas tree is over, presents are brought in by a *Fulbock*, now often represented by Father Christmas. *Bock* means goat, and the bringer of presents was supposed to ride on the Yule goat, the goat and the rider having now coalesced. You will remember the association of the goat with Thor. The *Fulbock* throws parcels into the room, and very often as a joke a small present may be wrapped up in a dozen different covers with different inscriptions and verses on each directed to different people before it arrives at the rightful owner.

Later in the evening supper is served, and consists of *lutfish*, i.e. sun-dried stockfish soaked in a lye of birch ashes and chalk, boiled to a jelly, and eaten with white butter sauce and potatoes. Rice porridge is served as a sweet. Rice was, and to some extent still is, a luxury to the working classes, and is specially appreciated as a porridge or gruel powdered with cinnamon and eaten with milk and sugar. On this occasion an almond is placed in the porridge, and the one who gets it is expected to be the first to be

married of the company present. But before the porridge is tasted by anyone, he or she must make a rhyme, however doggerel,—such as "This porridge is boiled in a saucepan and not in a flask, It tastes so good that for more I ask," or "This porridge is boiled o'er the Yule log, 'Tis good and I'm hungry as a dog," or "This porridge is very good and sweet, I thank the hostess for this treat."

In olden times the festivities went on till midnight, and in more recent times until 2 or 3 a.m., after which the more serious part of Christmas began. All who were able departed for the *Fulotta*, a very early morning service at the hour at which Christ was supposed to have been born. Originally it consisted of a mass at midnight, but this was suppressed, and the service survived by being held between 2 and 3 a.m. The worshippers all drive up in sledges, with sleigh nets over the horses' backs and the sleigh bells sounding. Torches are used to light the way. When I went twenty years ago to this service it was held at 5 a.m., and we had many miles to cover in bitter cold. Long before we got to the church we could see the brilliant light in the top of the church tower, and as we arrived we saw the peasants throwing their torches into a large bonfire in the churchyard. The church was lighted up with hundreds of candles, as, besides the chandeliers and the seven-branched candlesticks on the altar, there was a candle in front of every seat in each pew. The heat was intense, and the atmosphere could be cut with a knife, owing to the crowd and the thawing of the peasants' sheepskin coats. We returned just as the first grey streaks of dawn were appearing, and in every house and cottage we saw the lighted candles of the Christmas trees.

Christmas Day and Boxing Day, which in Sweden is called "Second Day of Christmas," are looked upon as holy days and are spent quietly, church being attended on both days if possible. After Boxing Day festivities and dancing go on first at one neighbour's house and then at



another's until 13th January, known in Sweden as the "twentieth day Canute<sup>1</sup> when the Yule goes out" (counting from Christmas Eve), and on that night the Christmas tree is lighted for the last time before being dismantled and lifted out of doors, where it is ultimately chopped up for firewood.

*Dances and songs illustrated.*—The first set comprised *Nu är det Jul igen* ("Now it is Yule again") and *Högaberg o djupa dala* ("Mongst the hills and deepest valleys, There's the friend who is my pleasure; High hop, my little lump of sweet, We'll be dancing till the sun goes up; High hop, my beauty, Thus we'll be dancing in the green fields. We've been dancing o'er mounts and hillocks; We have worn through our heels and shoes; High hop, my little lump of sweet, We have danced till the sun has come; High hop, my beauty, Now we have danced in the green fields").

*Min Fader han sädde* ("My father sowed seeds, he sowed them like this, And then he turned himself around, And then he turned him round like this. My father stamped his foot, He clapped his hands like this, And then he turned himself around, And then he turned him round like this"). Action song.

*Skära, skära hafre*, harvest song game for an odd number of performers. ("Reap, oh! reap the oat grain; Who shall bind the oatsheaves? Oh! that shall be my best beloved, Wherever shall I find him? I saw him yester evening, In the beauteous light of moon. When each takes his, then I take mine, The last one he gets no one. Oh that is right, Oh that is right and justice,—That Johnny must in the centre go, Because he is not wanted.")

*Hej, tomtegubbar, sla i glaset*, a very old form, probably in early times danced by men only. ("Hey, men, clink your glasses, Let us be cheery and jolly; A little while we live down

<sup>1</sup> Every day in Sweden has a name, and people celebrate name-days more than birthdays. Originally most of the days had Biblical names, or were called after saints, but many now have secular names. For example, Jan. 13th is Knut or Canute day, March 13th Gregor, Oct. 7th Birgitta, Sept. 4th Moses, and Dec. 13th Lucia.

here, With much of work and troubles many ; Hey, men, clink our glasses, Let us be cheery and jolly." ).

*Lott ist tod ; Tantsli ; Bleking ; Klappdansen.* Four short and simple dances.

*Gottlandskadrill*, a square dance from the island of Gothland, with a little pantomime.

*Daldansen*, a very favourite dance, with many steps, often danced by several couples in a row.

*Gustaf's skål*, a square dance.

The *Ox dance* for two boys, representing schoolboy fags (called *oxen* by the older boys), who are supposed to be teasing each other for the amusement of their seniors. The dance originated at Upsala about 400 years ago, and was also taken up by the old town of Karlstad.

*Vingakers polska*, a courting dance by one man and two girls.

*Hambo polska*, peculiar to Sweden, a very popular dance everywhere, in which the girl partner barely touches the ground with her feet as she is swung to and fro.

Several folk-songs were also sung.

A. KELLGREN CYRIAX.

## COLLECTANEA:

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### OXFORDSHIRE VILLAGE FOLKLORE, II.

THE following notes of the folklore of Northleigh have been communicated to me by my friend Mrs. Calcutt of Wolvercote, who is a native of the former village. As in the case of my collection from Long Handborough and Barnard Gate,<sup>1</sup> it is intended to be a full record of the local folklore as known to one person, and naturally includes many familiar items retained for the sake of completeness.

Northleigh (locally known as "Norlye") is a picturesque village situated between Handborough and Witney, lying back from the high road, on the right-hand side in going from Handborough. There is no railway station nearer than Witney for the one end of the village, and Handborough for the other end, and consequently beliefs and customs linger longer than in a village that possesses a station of its own. It is a long straggling village, one part reaching almost to Hailey and Witney, while another part, called the East End, is not much more than a mile from Handborough, if you go across the "Remains," as Northleigh Common is called.

It will be seen that many of the following customs and beliefs of Northleigh did not extend to Handborough, although the villages are near together. In the times of which I write, families hardly ever migrated from one village to another. They lived, married, and died in the place in which they were born.

On the right-hand side of the Witney Road is a gate opening into a lane which leads to the Hill Farm. The farmhouse is on the brow of a steep hill, at the bottom of which is the part of

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xxiv. pp. 74-91.

the village containing the church, and it was formerly the seat of the Tanfield family. In the parlour is a fine piece of tapestry, and a long passage, paved with flagstones, goes almost the length of the building at the back. The ghosts of Lord and Lady Tanfield were said to have been seen driving down the hill from Wilcote to Northleigh, with flames and smoke coming from the horses' nostrils. An old man in Northleigh used to tell that one night he saw these ghosts, and the horse he was driving, although blind, was so terrified that he trembled and was covered with lather.

Wilcote is a small place about half a mile from the East End of Northleigh, and consists of a mansion, a farmhouse, and a small church. There are two ponds, and a spirit was laid there by taking the bell from the church and putting the clapper in one pond and the bell in the other. If ever the bell and clapper came together, the spirit would "come again."

When Mrs. Calcutt was about ten years old, strange noises were heard in the Hill farmhouse, and a hidden room was discovered there, which was evidently a priest's room, as it contained a prie-dieu. The man living in the house became suddenly rich, and began to buy property, so it was supposed that he had found a "pot of money" in the hidden room.

This Hill Farm was a very lonely place, and the neighbourhood round about was haunted by ghosts and by the Devil. A man named Jack Adams saw the Devil near the Hill Farm, and when he was asked what the Devil was like, he answered, "all spotted and speckled"; and it became a common saying both in Handborough and Northleigh; "all spotted and speckled like Jack Adams' Devil."

Near Witney is a place on the coach road called "Ousen Bottom," and in the days of coaches a little man in black silk stockings, who always carried his head under his arm, is said to have run by the side of the coach, and would sometimes climb up and sit by the side of the driver. The passengers were very much alarmed when this first happened, but after a time they got used to it and did not mind him in the least.

In the church is a monument belonging to the Wilcote family bearing the effigies of a knight and his lady. In the village

these figures are always called the "Lord and Lady." The lady is lying with her hands near together as if in prayer. There is a story that the hands were once close together, but are now gradually falling apart, and that, when they get quite wide apart, the lady will "come again" and haunt the village. A woman in Northleigh told Miss Calcutt that, when she was a little girl, she used to creep into the church to see whether the lady's hands had altered in position. Mrs. Calcutt remembers that, when she was a girl at school, some workmen (one of whom was named Lord) were repairing this monument, and found some plate inside it, which they took away. Noises were said to have been heard thereupon in the church, and the village was so disturbed about it that the men were obliged to put the plate back again, upon which the noises ceased.

There were at Northleigh, as at Handborough, many charms practised by girls in the hope of seeing their future husbands. Mrs. Calcutt's mother was probably the last girl to try the charm of sowing hempseed to make hers appear. She, with a girl friend, went to the churchyard one Christmas Eve at midnight, carrying some hempseed, and while throwing it over her left shoulder said :

"I sow hempseed,  
Hempseed I sow,  
He that is to be my husband,  
Come after me and mow,  
Not in his best or Sunday array,  
But in the clothes he wears every day !"

The friend with her was very much frightened ; some people said she saw a coffin, but whatever she saw, or thought she saw, it is certain she died soon afterwards, and the people in the village evidently connected her death in some way with the visit to the churchyard, as they forbade their daughters to try this charm any more.

Most girls have had pieces of wedding cake given them to "dream on," which they put under their pillows before going to bed, but at Northleigh a girl went through quite a ceremony when doing so. She took a piece of wedding cake, which must consist of both cake and icing, the cake representing the man

and the icing the girl, and got into bed backwards, repeating the while the following lines :

" I put this cake under my head,  
To dream of the living and not of the dead,  
To dream of the man that I am to wed ;  
Not in his best or Sunday array,  
But in the clothes he wears every day."

On no account must the girl speak after repeating this rhyme, as, if she said a word, it would prevent her from dreaming of her future husband.

It was formerly the custom at Northleigh, at the burial of a young person, for the coffin to be borne to the church by young men called the " carriers," who wore white trousers, white gloves and ties, and black coats. The pall was supported at each corner by four young women as pall-bearers. They were dressed in white dresses, bonnets, and gloves, and black jackets. The bonnets were made of straw, covered with muslin or white handkerchiefs.

It was customary to line a coffin with a wreath composed of every herb growing in the garden except thyme, that herb being carefully excluded. This is still done. When a corpse was carried out to be buried, the front door was always left open until the mourners returned, or another member of the family would die before the year was out.

You must always tell your bees of a death in the family or they will all die. When Mrs. Calcutt's father died, the relatives omitted to tell the bees of the event, and they all died. Mrs. Calcutt knows of several similar omissions, and in every case the bees have actually died in their hives. Indeed, this is so firmly believed in at the present time that someone asked an old man in Wolvercote whether he intended to tell his bees of the death of his brother, and he answered shortly, " I shall if I dun't want 'em all to die ! "

When the first lamb was born, all the workmen on the farm were given pancakes ; these were called " lamb-pancakes."

If dough (made into a loaf) was placed before the fire to make it rise, a cross was made on it to keep the Devil from sitting upon it. Also when two persons washed their hands in the

same water, the second person made a cross on the water before beginning to wash.

It was very unlucky to transplant parsley. If you wished to grow that herb you must procure it from seed ; but if you persisted in transplanting it, some sad misfortune would happen to you. Mrs. Calcutt's grandmother did so, and her husband died before the year was out. Also you must sow it on Good Friday, or you will have to sow it ten times, as it goes nine times to the Devil.

A baby must always be taken upstairs before it is taken downstairs. If there should be no higher storey than the room in which it was born, some one must stand with it on a chair and lift it up.

You must always cut your hair when the moon is growing larger, and your corns when it is growing smaller. It was unlucky to see the new moon for the first time through glass.

If a man was seen to be wearing a ring, he was supposed to have fits, and to wear the ring in order to ward them off.

It was believed that, if you picked up a hairy caterpillar and it clung round your finger in a circle, it would kill you.

Hot elder wine, heated in a vessel called a "hooter," was drunk on Christmas Eve ; the first rhubarb was eaten on Easter Day ; the first gooseberries on Whitsunday, and figs always on Palm Sunday.

It was unlucky to stand under an elder tree when the sun was setting, because the elder tree was supposed to be the tree upon which Judas hanged himself. The person who did so would be bewitched.

If you put on any article of clothing wrong side out, you must not change it or you would have bad luck.

Friday still is an unlucky day. You must never cut your nails, nor turn your beds, on a Friday or Sunday. About twenty years ago a friend of Miss Calcutt's went to Handborough to do some business with a man there. On reaching the house he knocked several times without getting an answer, when suddenly the door opened and a man called out, " It's na use your comin' 'ere to-day ; I never does no business on a Friday. Fridays be an lucky, so I aulus stops a bed ! " The

same friend a few years ago was driving with a farmer to look at a rick of hay which he wished to buy. When they had nearly reached the field, a solitary magpie flew over their heads. The farmer turned the horse's head round, and muttering, "One magpie is unlucky," drove back home, and refused to have any business transacted that day.

A spark in the wick of the candle meant that a letter was coming. If the candle guttered and the grease turned over in a spiral form, this was called a "winding sheet," and meant that a death would occur in the family shortly.

If sage should blossom in the garden, it is a sign that the wife is master in the house, or, as is commonly said, "The missis is the master." Turk's-cap lily is called "Turn again, gentleman," and red campion "Adam's Cloth." It is said that, if "Old Woman" (wormwood) is planted near "Old Man" (southernwood), the Old Woman will kill the Old Man.

If you do work badly or imperfectly, you are said to "Give it a lick and a promise."

A bit of oak was worn on May 29th, as at Handborough, and was called "shick-shack."

It was considered to be most unlucky to put your hands in lye on Good Friday. Nowadays people may not know what lye was; I will give a description of the way it was produced. Wood ashes were collected in a small pit under the open fire-place. A wooden tray, called a lye-leach, larger at the top than the bottom, was used, having holes bored in the bottom and one row round the sides. A piece of hessian (harding cloth) was put inside the lye-leach to keep the ashes from dropping through, and the lye-leach was put in a wooden frame called the "ladder." The day before washing day the lye-leach was placed in a wooden tub called the lye-tub; the wood ashes were put on the top of the hessian in the lye-leach, which was then filled up with water. Gradually a pale yellow liquid dripped from the lye-leach. This was the lye, and a small quantity was added to the water in which the clothes or dishes were washed, which made the water very soft. It was used instead of soda. It was this lye in which you must not put your hands on Good Friday. The wood ashes were afterwards



used for manure. Mrs. Calcutt's sister's godmother, a young lady who rejoiced in the name of Keziah Tubb, wishing to have a little fun, once went all round the village on the night before washing day, and turned over all the lye-leaches in the place. After that Mrs. Calcutt's mother said she would have no more "giddling" young godmothers for her babies. "Giddling" at Northleigh meant much more than giddy or giggling.

Sunday was kept by wearing best clothes and attending church or "meeting," and no work was done or amusements permitted on that day. If you sewed on Sunday, the Devil would thread the needle. An old man told Mrs. Calcutt that once he played cricket (called "crickuts") on the common on a Sunday morning, (the players all wore tall hats, only worn at cricket and funerals), when a clever batsman, quite a stranger, came up, and after playing skilfully for some time disappeared in smoke. The same old man said that once some young men went badger-hunting on a Sunday, and caught a badger, which they tied up securely in a leather bag. Later on they opened the bag and found no badger, but only a smell of brimstone.

"Mun" is much used for emphasis, or as an ejaculation, as "I saw it, mun!" or "Mun! I be cold."

There were few proverbs and sayings in Northleigh which were not familiar everywhere else, but I have made the following selection as a specimen of those in common use.

"If you eat till you are cold, you will live to be old, and everyone will be tired of you."

"He'd rake hell for a half-penny," was said of a stingy person.

"As pleased as a pig with a pea."

"You will never die indebted to your belly," said to a very greedy person.

A person who talked foolishly was told, "You talk as your belly guides you," or by more refined persons, "The wind has got into your head, and blows your tongue about."

"Like the cow's tail, always behind," said to persons who were habitually late.

"Every cock crows best on his own dunghill."

"It's the truth as (that) floors us."

"Always go to the fountain-head."

"Not to have a feather to fly with" (*i.e.* to have lost all).

"Short visits make long friends."

"Age before honour." This is not always a very polite proverb. I have seen a young man make way for an old lady, and say quite innocently, "Age before honour."

"Pride must suffer." Vanity was always spoken of as *pride*, and if a girl wore any uncomfortable article of clothing, etc. for appearance' sake, she was told, if she complained of pain or discomfort, "Pride must suffer."

"They earns it like horses, and spends it like asses," speaking of the men's money.

"She as goes a-borrowing goes a-sorrowing."

"Jumping about like a parched pea on a gridiron."

"If you have only a crust, don't spit it out."

"Young folks *think* old folks fools, but old folks *know* young folks are."

"Self first, then your next best friend."

"Every one for himself and God for us all."

"'Don't care,' brings care and sometimes to the gallows"; said to children who say "Don't care."

"As tired as ever a dog was of hanging."

"As crooked as a ram's horn."

"As dead as a nit."

"As busy as a hen with one chick."

"As smart as a carrot."

"As deaf as a beetle," (*i.e.* a mallet).

"As true as God's in heaven."

"As silly as a lamb's dad"—*i.e.* a sheep.

"As dummel as a mule."

"As pleased as if the pot was on."

"As sharp as a wopse" (wasp).

"As thin as a rasher of wind," said of a very thin person.

A person looking thin and cadaverous was said to be a "church-yard deserter."

"As ragged as a cuckoo."

"To lie with one's toes turned up to the daisies"—*i.e.* to be dead.

"Crockery ware's the best to bear," said of cracking ice.

An old saying was :—

" If you have a vein across your nose,  
You'll never live to wear your wedding clothes."

The old country people sacrificed politeness to wit. If a person remarked that a girl present was growing very fast, a common reply would be, " Yes, ill weeds grow apace," and the girl might say, " Good rye grows high," or " Blooming flower grows every hour." One person walking before another would say, " Dogs always follow their master," and the person behind would retort, " The dust before the broom."

The following riddle has a history. It was said that a woman climbed into a tree one Saturday night and watched a murderer dig a grave for his victim. In the morning she met the man, and propounded to him the following riddle, as it was always called :—

" A riddle, a riddle-me-right,  
Where was I last Saturday night?  
The boughs did bend, and I did quake,  
To see what a hole the fox did make."

The murderer was said to have been so overcome with terror and remorse that he made a full confession of his crime. [The remnant of a well-known folktale.]

" Two brothers we are, great burdens we bear,  
On which we are bitterly pressed ;  
The truth is to say, we are full all the day,  
And empty when we go to rest."

Answer, a pair of shoes.

" Goes to the door and doesn't knock,  
Goes to the window and doesn't rap,  
Goes to the fire and doesn't warm,  
Goes upstairs and does no harm."—The sun.

" As round as a hoop,  
As deep as a cup,  
And all the king's horses,  
Can't draw it up."—A well.

"What God has never seen, the king seldom sees, and we see every day."—His equal,

How much is this ?

"A halfpenny wet and a halfpenny dry,  
A halfpenny low and a halfpenny high,  
A halfpenny behind and a halfpenny before,  
Eightpence halfpenny and a halfpenny more."

One shilling.

"Long legs, short thighs,  
Little head, and no eyes."—A pair of tongs.

"Down in the meadow there sits Pat,  
With a red petticoat and a black hat,  
A stick in his hand, and a stone in his throat,  
You tell me this riddle I'll give you a groat."  
A hip on a hedge.

"Elizabeth, Betsy, and Bess,  
Went over the water to find a bird's nest,  
They found a bird's nest with three eggs in,  
They each took one and left two in."—Only one person.

"Round the rick and round the rick,  
And there I met my Uncle Dick,  
I picked him up, and sucked his blood,  
And let his body stand."

A bottle of beer left near a rick.

"A team of white horses on a red hill,  
Now they go, now they go, now they stand still."—The teeth.

"What is that which goes round the rick, and through the rick, and never touches the rick ?"—The sound of a bell.

"Why does a miller wear a white hat ?"—To keep his head warm.

"What is nothing ?"—A footless stocking without a leg.

"What is that which goes upstairs red, and comes down black ?"—The coals in a warming pan.

I should like to mention a few of the habits and customs of the country folk which seem to me illustrative of the life in the villages when I was young.

In partaking of the Communion in the village church the "gentlefolk" always went up to the altar first, then the "respectable people," and after them the "poor folk," an order of precedence which was observed naturally and unconsciously by everybody.

The "gentlefolk" only were addressed as "sir." In illustration of this a man named Wait left Handborough when a lad and upon returning in middle age was employed to drive a small governess-car which was let out on hire from one of the inns. This man, when he returned to the village, said "sir" to any well-dressed person without any discrimination whatever. This became so notorious that some of the men remonstrated with him. They said, "But you says 'sir' to var-nigh everybody!" But they could obtain no satisfactory explanation of this singular behaviour; all he said was, "Well, it dun't cost nuthin'."

The countryman was not very alert, but he could "dance round the bacca-pipes." To accomplish this feat, two churchwarden pipes were placed across each other on the ground, and the performer danced a hornpipe in and out between them. This was not at all easy to do in thick nailed shoes without breaking the pipes, especially as the dancer usually whistled his own tune. But the principal times for dancing were at the feasts and clubs, in the dancing booths and club-rooms. The most popular dances in the booths were "'Ands across an' down the middle," "Step an' fetch 'er," and sometimes the "'Angkitcher dance," which was performed with handkerchiefs. In "Step an' fetch 'er" each lady in turn was taken away from her partner by the man opposite, and led up to the top of the row of dancers. After standing there with her back to the company a minute or two, her partner walked up to her and fetched her back, while the men would softly hum to the music, "Step an' fetch 'er, You shan't have 'er, Fetch 'er back, the pretty little dear." Oh, that was real dancing! There was no walking or gracefully gliding through the figures, as was the custom in other circles, but real hard, energetic dancing, a step or a stamp to every note of the music, and when the dance was over the men sat down hot and panting and wiped

the perspiration from their faces with their red handkerchiefs. A nickname for the fiddler was "Old Razzum-the-bow" (razzum was rosin); there was an old song of which one verse was:—

"I've travelled the wide world all over,  
And now to another I'll go,  
For I know that the angels are waiting  
To welcome old Razzum-the-bow."

(*The late*) ANGELINA PARKER.

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A STUDY OF THE FOLKLORE ON THE COASTS OF CONNACHT,  
IRELAND.

(*Continued from p. 237.*)

XIV. *Calendar Customs and Social Customs.*

*January.*—1st: It is unlucky to buy a cow (Bofin), or to bury (Mullet). 14th: Feasts of St. Bactan and St. Luighbe (Bofin). 20th: Feast of St. Fechin (Omey). Some day in January is a feast of St. Colman (Termoncarra).

*February.*—1st: Feast of St. Brigid (Kilbride). On its eve a wooden swastika is made and nailed to a rafter (Bofin; Gorumna; Mullet). I have seen these and other-formed crosses of wood and straw nailed to rafters in Aran (Inishmaan), in 1878, but did not learn if any day for their making was observed. 3rd: Feast of St. Coelan (Mogrus). 11th: Feast of St. Gobnet (Inishere); she was said to be the same as St. Brigid by our guide in 1878 at her very ancient oratory.

*March.*—12th: Feast of St. Cennanach (Inishmaan; Dowris). 13th: a feast day (Inismacaw). 17th: Feast of St. Patrick; great patterns at Downpatrick, Croaghpatrick Mountain, and Cahir Island. I noted no local observance outside these not common all over three provinces. 21st: Feast of St. Enda (Aranmore; Spiddle). 30th: Feast of St. Goban (Aran) and Mochna (Balla).

*April.*—11th: Feast of St. Leo (Inishark). 25th: Feast of St. Coelan (Lough Corrib).

*May.*—May Day : unlucky to give fire out of a house (Cliara); Feast of St. Breacan (Aranmore : Co. Clare), but Archbishop O'Inlaly (1630) says the 22nd. 16th : Feast of St. Brendan (Inisglora).

*June.*—9th : Feast of St. Columba (Inishkea ; Cashla Bay ; Aran). 12th : Feast of St. Coemhan (Inishere), or on the 14th, according to Hardiman. 23rd and 24th : St John's Eve and Day ; Beltane fires lit ; when they burn low, men jump over them through the smoke (Bofin ; Ballycrov ; Killery ; Carna ; Aran). People go seven times round the fire, and bow in the name of the Trinity. " Coals " from the fire are thrown into the potato fields for luck (Cliara ; Gorumna). A flag is hoisted on an oar, instead of a fire (Lettermullen). Carrying a coal from a Beltane fire brings luck to fishing if brought in the boat, and protects from fairies on shore (Carna). Going twice round the fire *deisiál* (counter-clockwise) keeps you from disease for a year (Bofin). On St. John's Eve, 1904, I saw many fires on the mountains around Killerics.

*July.*—Garland Sunday or Domhnach Cruim Duibh, or Garlic Sunday (with a legend of a witch throwing garlic water over St. Patrick), is the last Sunday, and is kept by great patterns on the Reek (Croaghpatrick), and lesser ones at Downpatrick Head and Cahir Island, the last getting greatly neglected even by neighbouring islanders. 15th : celebration at Toberrihan Domhnasigh at Louisburg. 16th : Feast of St. Sinnach mac Dara (Cruachmhicdara). 23rd : Feast of St. Choenchomra (Bofin).

*August.*—1st : Lughnasad. 5th : Feasts of St. Gormgall (Ardillaun) and St. Derbhile (Fallmore). 8th : Feast of St. Colman (Bofin). 12th : Feast of St. Patrick (Killala). 15th : Feast of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Brigid (Holy wells of Toberfelamurra and Toberfelabrid, Cliarra).

*September.*—9th : Feasts of St. Flannan of Killaloe (Ballinadown ; Iros(f)lannan ; Bofin), and of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise (Iros(h)amhagh).

*October.*—12th : Feast of St. Breacan again (Templebreacan ; Aranmore). 26th : Feast of St. Derbhile (Fallmore ; Mullet). 31st : All Hallows : a straw cross is placed on the house roofs

to avert evil (Ballycrocy etc.), and a charm of fire, iron, and salt against the *púca* (Mullet; Islands).

*November*.—3rd: Feast of St. Coemhan (Inishere), according to Roderic O'Flaherty. 11th: St. Martin's Day: a hen or animal is killed and its blood sprinkled for luck. In the western islands it is considered most unlucky to work on that day. 13th: Feast of St. Cailen (Oilen Lacan).

*December*.—26th: St. Stephen's Day: the wren is occasionally hunted in Lettermullen, but rarely, if ever, up the west coast. 28th: Innocents' Day: unlucky for work, or for a burial; whatever weekday it falls upon is unlucky during the following year. I have no exceptional observances recorded for Christmas.

*Marriages*.—Though, as we have already seen, love matches occur and love charms are occasionally practised, it is much more usual for the match to be made by the parents on most prosaic lines, though the result is often, indeed usually, happy. Early marriages (at 18 and 15 in some couples) were common; a bridegroom of 16 was noted in Co. Mayo. In Aran, at least in 1878, certain discreet old women instructed those about to marry on their duties and responsibilities. Sometimes an old woman is employed to open the negotiations, and when all is arranged the young man personally asks the girl's consent. After the bargain has been fought out as to every pig, animal, fowl, article of furniture, or sum of money, and a settlement arrived at, the bridegroom, with a friendly spokesman to explain his errand, brings a couple of bottles of whisky and calls on the parents and his intended bride to make his final proposal. It is less frequently done (at risk of being broken) before the settlement is arranged. The wedding is of course a lively festival ending in a dance. In Cliara and Inishturk the preliminaries are similar. The night before the wedding the bridegroom and his friends come to the bride's house with four bottles of whisky. A bottle is placed at each corner of the table, and the company sit telling stories, jesting, singing, drinking, and eating till morning. On the night of the wedding a similar feast takes place in the bridegroom's house. As we noted, the couple are careful to step over the threshold of the



chapel at the same time in Gorumna and Lettermullen. In north-west Mayo the youngest son alone brings his wife to his parent's home, as he succeeds to it. The eldest son has to build an addition to it in a lucky direction—*i.e.* *not* to the west side.

Strawboys or *clommeraghs*, maskers in straw cloaks and conical caps or masks,<sup>1</sup> pay surprise visits and dance with the bride at Ballycroy and round Belmullet in the Mullet, and Erris. For some reason many people discourage this custom, and abuse it to strangers, though I never heard of ill-behaviour on the part of the maskers. Sometimes, in the Mullet, shirts, petticoats, and strips of red or green cloth and ribbons are worn. In Inishbofin the strawboys are rough and disorderly, and threaten to break the windows and furniture if not given the best of food and drink. In Erris they are more orderly, often having a captain and mate and pretending to be shipwrecked sailors coming to dance at the wedding. There is a good specimen of the strawboys' dress in the Dublin National Museum.<sup>2</sup>

*Funerals.*—One naturally sees more of the funerals than of the weddings, for one's presence is rather an act of civility and sympathy than an intrusion, and one meeting a funeral should turn with it, if only for a short distance, usually to a side road. In Erris at Ballycroy the near relations should lift the coffin on to the bier at the house, and off it in the graveyard. The kinsfolk of the father's side group together on one side, and the relatives of the mother on the other. It is considered unlucky for the party at whose side the bier first touches the ground. The body must be brought out of the house by the back door, and to the grave by the longest way. On reaching the burial place the mourners disperse, to pray at their own relatives' graves. Then tobacco and new pipes are handed round, and sometimes a small turf fire made to light them. Then the family grave is cleared of weeds and opened, the first sod having sometimes been cut on the previous day, if the burial is to be on a Monday, to break the ill-luck. The coffin is then lowered, and the women sing the *keen*, the mourner farthest from the grave commencing. Holy water is sprinkled on the

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, ser. iii. vol. iv. p. 105 ; vol. iii. pp. 352, 624.

<sup>2</sup> Given by Dr. Charles Browne.

mourners, who are dismissed with a prayer, after which the grave is filled in. If a priest is present, the keepers wait until the service is ended before keening. A layer of stones, if possible white ones, covers the grave, and the unused pipes are laid on it.<sup>1</sup> No one dares to remove one until, I presume, the grave is opened for the next burial. Wakes are rarely held at Ballycroy, or (save for old people) at Bofin. With the exception of the first sod, the grave must not be dug before the coffin reaches the ground. Two funerals on the same day—fortunately a rare event in the sparsely peopled islands and coasts—lead to quarrels, as the spirit of the person last buried must sit and watch the place until the next burial releases it from its lonely vigil. Unbaptised children are buried in old burial grounds, sometimes called *killeens* (but not so commonly as in Co. Clare), and reputedly unconsecrated; in Gorumna and Lettermullen they are buried at the meeting of two townlands.

Round Belmullet, in 1895, when a person was dying, the windows and doors were thrown open and the clock stopped. It was unlucky, or at least improper, to cry until death had actually taken place. It was unlucky for the whole neighbourhood if a burial took place on New-Year's Day, or on the same week-day as the last Innocents' Day fell, or if a grave were opened on a Monday without cutting a sod the day before. Bodies are kept for two days before burial in most places on the coast. The wakes, if held, are very simple; stories are told, and drinking is most moderate. If the person dies far away, or is lost at sea, the wake is held the evening after the news reaches the family. The priests have put down the old drunkenness and buffoonery (as well as the occasional indecency at mock marriages and certain games), and now only the nearest relatives are expected to attend.

It is unlucky to stand on the grave, and salt should always be brought to a funeral. The body is carried thrice sunward round the burial ground at most places down the coast. At Gorumna and Lettermullen cairns are raised wherever the coffin rested, and passers-by pray for the soul of the deceased

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. xii. pp. 104, 238 (*plais*), for similar custom at Salruck, Conemara. [A. R. W.]

ong afterwards. In Aranmore, as on the shores of Lough Corrib near Cong, besides the cairns, mortar-built pillars are built, usually with a tablet in the face and a small cross at the top. They date in Aranmore from 1760 onward to at least the time of the great famine ninety years later: The Halls noted some as early as 1712 in Joyce's country in Co. Galway. They had a "window," or small hole, and it was the custom to say a prayer and drop in a pebble. When the hole was filled, it was believed that the soul was released from purgatory. They were rather intended to ask for prayers for the soul of the dead than as mere memorials. The graveyards, owing to the barren-sandy soil, are better kept than the neglected and overgrown inland cemeteries. The graves are often decorated with white pebbles and wooden crosses of wreck-timber, or with shells. I have seen the unused pipes both in Tirawley and Erris, notably at Termoncarra, in the Mullet. At Carna the relatives keep from work on the day of the funeral, as a mark of respect; the coffin is carried only once sunward round the graveyard, but old people remember its being done thrice, as elsewhere; pipes are not left on the graves. Up the coast, all the wood in the house is put outside pending the death. There is great unwillingness to give wood for a coffin, for the donor would be the next to die. Planks are kept usually in a loft, and no one will touch any unless brought down before the death. The Rev. E. O'Growney notes the usual keen (*caoine*) as a monotonous chant of three or four lines, ending "Aye, aye, aye, No more, more, more, My little house is empty, Evermore, more, more." The Irish is so expressive that even to one ignorant of the language the meaning is unmistakable, and few sounds can be conceived more touching.

*Oaths.*—Among social customs is one so strange that I must include it in these notes in hope of drawing discussion, and perhaps further information. It is an oath so fanciful and elaborate as rather to suggest sensational fiction and secret rituals than the ideas of the simple and primitive people who use it. Maxwell<sup>1</sup> notes that among the people of Ballycroy in Erris an oath on the Evangelists was but little regarded.

<sup>1</sup> *Wild Sports of the West*, vol. iv. pp. 46-66.

One on the priest's vestments carried more weight, but one on a human skull together with any iron object, such as a bunch of keys, was greatly feared. Miss Knight,<sup>1</sup> too fond of romance to carry much weight, gives in 1836 as a very binding oath in the same barony (Erris) one taken on a skull, an hour-glass, a scythe, crossed keys, and a piece of silver, the formula being nearly identical.

Lady Wilde<sup>2</sup> gives a like oath, with a slightly varied formula, in 1890, invoking all the sins of the soul which dwell in the skull to rest on the swearer for seven generations if he proved false. Dr. Brown found in 1896 a memory of the oath, which had not been taken within traditional recollection.<sup>3</sup> I believe an oath on the *Nævege* in Iniskea, or on a fragment of St. Leo's bell on Inishark, or on the basin (or stone lamp) at Caher, were all regarded as of extra solemnity and consequent danger. So great is the awe of St. Sinach mac Dara that people fear to swear, even truthfully, in his name.

*Fishing.*—Forming so great a part of the life and society of the western coasts and islands, a few matters may be noted about fishing. Besides the Cashlaun Flaineen fishing charm, already described as in use in Co. Galway, the people of the Laggan, near Downpatrick Head, and the Moy used to get any wandering monk to bless their nets; as we saw, the monks lingered long in the Friary of Moyne. The Inishturk and Cliara fishermen, when visiting Caher Island, leave a pebble, pin, fish hook, or coin in the basin or stone lamp, in St. Patrick's oratory. On these islands it is thought unlucky to throw small crabs or lobsters back into the sea alive; I have seen the sands in the harbour of Cliara below Grania Uaile's Castle, heaped with dead crabs. At Inishturk and Cliara it is unlucky for a fisherman to give bait to one in another boat, but he can "sell" it for a stone from the ballast, or some worthless trifle.

<sup>1</sup> *Erris and the Irish Highlands*, p. 108. See also *Jour. Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland*, vol. xlii. p. 196. In *Erris and Tyranny*, pp. 41, 337, Otway's second account seems unvarnished, and is possibly from Henri's notes. O'Donovan, with his too frequent dogmatism and prejudice, rejects the story.

<sup>2</sup> *Ancient Cures etc.*, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, ser. iii. vol. iv. p. 105.

The sight of a red-haired woman, a fox, or a cat is unlucky if you are going fishing, or to hear the word "fox," yet St. Sinach (fox) is a valued patron of fisher folk, though always under his patronymic "mac Dara." The fishermen of the Claddagh, that curious foreign-looking fishing town attached to Galway, avoided fishing on Saturday for fear of violating the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup>

#### XV. *Wells and Well Lore.*

There are, of course, a number of holy wells, some of considerable interest. At the foot of the slope of Downpatrick Head is one with a tall pillar-stone five feet high and a covered well-house. It is locally said that, when a sick person has made the rounds and looks in, his fate is foretold; if he sees a live insect or fish in the water he recovers, but if a dead one he dies soon afterwards. This is more than probable, as a delicate superstitious person would in the latter case lose hope, and "make no battle" for life. As no bush grows in that storm-rasped spot, rags and other offerings are held in place by pebbles. More than one other well has an attendant insect,—a fly or a beetle. Professor Macalister cites a similar case at St. Michael's Well in Banffshire. One old man in 1794 said that he had seen the guardian fly in his youth, and that it foretold the fate of the visitor by appearing cheerful or dejected. The fly was supposed to transmigrate.<sup>2</sup> The well of St. Caeide at Foohagh, near Kilkee in Co. Clare, has a frog guardian and prophet.

Stations were held at Tober Breanail or St. Brendan's well, and Tober Derbhile near the church and pillar of Dunfeeny. The well of Tober Tighernain, at which the ancient vessel called *Mias Tighernain* was long preserved, was famous,—like the wells of Clonlea, Oughtmama, and Newmarket in Co. Clare,—for having changed its position, to Killeen from the south of Errew Abbey on Loch Conn.<sup>3</sup> St. Bride's well and monuments had a similar station and legend. The Tober righ an Domhnaigh, or

<sup>1</sup> *H' Iar Connaught*, pp. 10-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xii. p. 464; Macalister, *The Pictish*, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters, Mayo*, vol. I. pp. 358, 411.

"Well of the King of Sunday," at Kilgeever was the scene of a pattern held at Louisburg in later years. Sacred fish were found in the wells of Louisburg and Toberfelabrid on Cliara. The last named is a very interesting well, beside a *cúshel* or early dry stone enclosure, with a hut and altars. People used to sleep in the hut, and there were several traditions of cures in fairly recent times. On Inisglora, the St. Brendan's well turns to blood (or corruption) if a woman draws from it, but if the vessel is held by a male, even an infant, it can be drawn from without change. There is a well of St. Brendan on Ardillaun, or High Island, on the west coast of Galway. Once a murderer took refuge there, and desecrated the island by his presence. A woman came to perform a station there, and, finding that she got no benefit, consulted the priest. By his direction she brought to him a bottle of the water, which, when he breathed on it in the name of the Trinity, turned to blood. He then told her to make a circle of fire; a mist rose, and he told her to look and see the murderer. She recognised her own son, and died of a broken heart. Her son was captured before night. Lady Wilde<sup>1</sup> mentions no authority for this weird tale, and I did not hear of it at Cliara, Turk, or Bofin. Two wells are near Killala, in a rock, under a rag-decked thorn bush. If horses or cattle drink of them by accident it does them good, but if they are brought to drink they die choking. A woman drew water from one to boil potatoes, and the water turned to blood. It lies beside the former episcopal palace.<sup>2</sup>

The Holy Well of St. Catherine, near Knockatemple church, was before 1836 famous for its cures of childless women.<sup>3</sup> Tober na suil, or St. Bearog's well, near Burrishoole on Clew Bay, as its name implies cures sore eyes. It lies in Aghadoocry Glebe, and near it are St. Bearog's Bed and other penitential *stations*, where devout or afflicted persons make rounds. St. Enda's well in Aranmore, Tober Eanna, was famous not only for its sanctity but because its waters could bring a dead fish to life, and would not boil. It cures sick persons if their friends pray at it, and has rag offerings hung on the ivy and brambles. St. Breacan's

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Legends etc.*, vol. I. p. 130.    <sup>2</sup> *Erris and Tyrawley*, p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> Maxwell, *Wild Sports of the West*, vol. ii. p. 12.

well has a venerable elder bush, hung with rags and other offerings. Buttons, fish-hooks, nails, pebbles, and crockery are offered at St. Enda's altar, and a wall is shown "where the guardian angels came to take their diversion."<sup>1</sup> It is curious that the two holy wells on Cllara should be dedicated, not to persons, but to festivals, and therefore called *Toberfelamurra* and *Toberfelabrid*. The former is a small well, often dry, north of the abbey. It has votive slabs, one of them with an oblong slit, but, despite its dedication to the Blessed Virgin, it is neglected in favour of the other well, where "the feast of St. Brigid" is apparently merged into that of the Assumption, on Lady Day, August 15th. Hardiman<sup>2</sup> publishes a curious document relating to a notable cure at St. Augustine's well near Galway on June 11th, 1673. Patrick Lynch of Galway, aged fourteen, being taken thither and dipped in it, was wrapped up and slept. He dreamed that he saw Our Lord, the Virgin, and many "brave winged birds." He asked his mother, Redwise Lynch, for a cup of water, drank it in three draughts in the name of the Trinity, and walked round the well; he did this for nine days, and was cured. He and his mother signed the deposition before the warden and several friars and others.

Mamen Well, on the border of Ballinahinch, Moycullen, and Ross, was dedicated to St. Patrick, and cured murrain. The "Well of the Seven Daughters," near Carna, is famous for cures, but I heard no details. A well of St. Michael, near the Bridge of Fuogh, was discovered by a revelation about 1654.<sup>3</sup> A pillar-stone and holy well at Foghil (wood of Fochlut) were said to have been made by St. Patrick to celebrate his conversion and baptism of "King Awley" (*Amalgaid*), which is of great interest if a really ancient local tradition. Another "Well of the Seven Daughters" (*Tober na seacht n inghean*), near Renoyle, was famous for a cursing stone, until a priest took this object away and buried it secretly.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Erris and Tyrawley*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *H'Iar Connacht*, p. 88 n.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 119 n.

XVI. *Patterns and Religious Customs.*

The subject of religious observance is a delicate one for enquiry, and I have not put questions about it except when information was freely given by the local inhabitants. Amongst some persons there is a suspicion that the publication of facts about patterns and wells must be intended to insult the faith of the peasantry, so sincere, so pathetic, and often so beautiful. The suspicion has probably been implanted by "condescending" and sarcastic writers of last century, and has no application to the serious study of the subject in *Folk-Lore*.

*Croaghpatrick*.—The most important religious gathering of the district, if not of all Ireland, is that held in honour of St. Patrick at the Reek, or Croaghpatrick, the ancient Cruach Aigle.

Aigle, or Oigle, is perhaps a pre-Celtic word; can it be a survival of a god's name? Beola, "the giant," of the Twelve Bens, or Bennabeola, may be another hill god. The god Dumiatas in Gaul had his sanctuary on the Puy de Dôme. Dumias was equated with Mercury, or Lugh, and that god is remembered in Achill, and even a perversion of his epithet,— "Duldaunach" (for Ioldánach, Master of the Sciences). Conn Cruach, and its British equivalent Pennocrucion, have been taken as an epithet of the light and harvest god, while the Curlew Hills on the Upper Shannon in Co. Sligo bear the name Segais, an alias of Sinann the river goddess. Slieve Lowe, the ancient Slieve Lougha of the *Tain bó Flidhais*, was a mountain of the god Lugh.

The pattern at Croaghpatrick is an enormous gathering, special trains bringing thousands of pilgrims to Westport, near it, so that local observances have been swamped and nearly lost. In 1839 they flourished uncorrupted, so I prefer to give Otway's careful account<sup>1</sup> rather than the accounts of the older controversial writers or recent newspaper correspondents.

The pilgrims ascended the lower ridge, and drank at the *Glas* well, where, it was believed, St. Patrick stopped to wrestle "against the principalities and powers and rulers of darkness" entrenched on the peak above him. Persons who, from ill health

<sup>1</sup> *Tour in Connaught*, p. 311.



or want of practice, were unable to "do the *dhurruis*," could hire a substitute to make the necessary rounds. "Bob of the peak" was for many years the favourite agent for the vicarious performance of vows, and was sincerely devoted to his task. When he died he was buried on the hill, and until recently he was faintly remembered. The *votaries*, following at first an easy, almost level, path along the top of the ridge, came to what Otway calls the *kessan* (*casán*) or "footway of the Reek," a hollow path worn in the flank of the cone by generations of pilgrims, — perhaps even "before the Faith" the mountain had devotees, — and the winter torrents. By this path they reached the first station, called the *Mionnán*, or "Kid," really a corruption, as at "Temple-mionnaun" in Aranmore, of the name of Benen, the boy disciple of St. Patrick. Here was the reputed scene of the great combat between the Serpent, a vast monster, and the Saints, in which Mionnán was slain. Patrick restored him to life, and the Blessed Virgin brought back the patron's bell which the monster had dashed from his hand. Saint Patrick then drove the monsters before him, over the summit and into the lake below the mountain. On a small flat spot near the top, Otway heard, a poor woman and her children died in attempting to perform the station for the repose of her husband's soul; she was found with her dead children wrapped in her cloak. The summit, though looking sharp from below, is a fairly level space of about half an acre, where the pilgrims made the rounds on their bare knees. Westward on the platform is a cairn called "The Virgin's Station," round which the rocks are hollowed by the devotees' knees. Near this "Bob of the peak" is buried, and pilgrims used to add stones to his little cairn. The steep western descent keeps the ancient name *Scalpa n Aigle*. The platform is partly surrounded by an ancient, massive revetment of large blocks. It seems likely that Cruach n Aigle was a pre-Christian mountain sanctuary, the seat of some forgotten god, whose priests, expelled by St. Patrick or some early missionary, figured, first as demons and later on as dragons and monsters, in the ecclesiastical traditions, and finally as the venomous reptiles banished by St. Patrick at this mountain. There are several such mountain shrines identified in Ireland; Cich

Dannann, the breasts of Ana<sup>1</sup> the mother of the Gods, now called "The Paps," in Kerry; Slieveareagh, the mountain of Febra and Cain, in Co. Limerick;<sup>2</sup> Craglea, the home of the goddess Aibhinn; and perhaps the many-gated ring wall of Turlough Hill in Co. Clare, and Slieve Donard (Domhangart the saint perhaps superseding the goddess Domnu), in the Mourne Mountains. I have recently given elsewhere what I could collect about the mountain and hill gods of Limerick, Clare, and Kerry—Mish, Donn, Febra, Cain, Aine, Aife, and Cliu of the great mass of Galteemore. Perhaps more careful research may disclose who was worshipped originally on Croaghpatrick.<sup>3</sup>

*Downpatrick Head.*—The great Apostle of Ireland had two lesser shrines of note, Downpatrick Head and Caher Island. At the first the rounds began at the holy well (already mentioned), at the foot of the slope and near the Turlin or boulder beach. The pilgrims went, of course sunwards, round the well, a varying number of times, telling their beads.<sup>4</sup> They left each an offering as a tally, which the priest used to count, a small object such as a rag or a pebble. Ascending the slope of close-growing sea-pink, they passed without observance the two Poulashantonas; the sorrowful tale of the greater opening has already been told.<sup>4</sup> They then reached the oratory, Cro-patrick, "the Steeple," and another well (now in little repute). The oratory, with its "sleep stone" and "anvil stone," and "the Steeple" or "Cashtan Phadraig," a tall dry stone pier on several steps, some facing east and west and some north-east and south-west

<sup>1</sup> *Cormac's Glossary* (A.D. 890-900), ed. Whitley Stokes. The resemblance to a woman's breasts is wonderfully exact.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. xxxiii. pp. 459-74.

<sup>3</sup> See *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. xxxiii. pp. 447, 461; vol. xxxiv. pp. 53, 151-4; vol. xxxv. pp. 379-83. In some of the Mayo islands Crom Dubh is connected with St. Patrick's assault on Croaghpatrick, and, as Crom seems undoubtedly a harvest god revered within the feast of Lugh (a fortnight before and a fortnight after Lughnasadh or Aug. 1st), I suspect that the Reek-like Slieve Lowe was dedicated to the god worshipped on the Puy de Dôme.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. xxvii. pp. 225-8; *Journal of Royal Soc. of Ant. of Ireland*, vol. xlii. p. 102.

and about ten inches square, with small stone crosses, were the chief centres of devotion. The next station lay to the north, 117 feet from "the Steeple," and on the edge of the enormous chasm, between the mainland and the great rock-castle of Dunbriste, called the "Leap of the Giant Geodruisge." Here the saint knelt in prayer and escaped the spear, or rock, hurled at him by the blasphemous giant. The station resembles a hut foundation, and has no prominent stone or cross. The last station is 33 feet to the east of the Cro. To the north-east is the existing walled headland; it may be remembered that there is a trace of another wall on the isolated Dunbriste, but not, as has often been stated, in line with the former.<sup>1</sup> The observances were concluded in the oratory.

In 1802 MacParlan<sup>2</sup> told briefly how the common people resorted to do penance, going round and round, telling their beads, on Good Friday, when the priest attends to read the gospel of the Passion. The day of the pattern is now "Garlick (garland) Sunday," the first (? last) Sunday in July. Even in 1839 the priest of Kilbride had given up attending the pattern to celebrate mass. Otway describes the scarlet and yellow dresses, the hunt and capture of a hare by the young men, and the toiling procession of the kneeling pilgrims. An old woman used to show the devotees what to do, and a dance was held after the ceremony to indemnify the younger folk for their severe observances.

*Inisglora.*—There are seven *leachta* or monuments, besides the venerable churches and "thurrows" (beehive huts), dedicated to St. Brendan, in which bread is divided between each couple for luck. There is also a well, which should only be used by men, as already noted. The pilgrims make the rounds of the stations thrice on their knees and thrice walking.<sup>3</sup>

*Caher Island.*—The stations are very numerous, and the Clifara boatmen told us that the number and complexity of the rites deterred many from coming to the island, which is saluted from the sea in honour of "St. Patrick the wonder worker." Prayers are, however, said at the cross-marked slab, and small

<sup>1</sup> *Statistical Survey of Mayo*, p. 7.    <sup>2</sup> *Erris and Tyranny*, pp. 213-31.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 97-108.

offerings made in the saint's stone (an early lamp) and on the "altar" in the window of the oratory.<sup>1</sup>

*Aranmore.*—It was usual to make a pilgrimage round the whole island, stopping at the various churches. Lesser rounds are made at Teglath, Enda church and St. Enda's grave near Killeany, and, of course, prayers are said and rounds made at the "Seven Churches," Teampul Breacain, and St. Breacan's Bed. Certain religious rites, but I think nothing like a pattern, were in 1878 held in the other Aran Isles, at Temple Coemhain on Inishere and Kilnacannanagh on Inishmaan, and the "aharla" (*eathartaige*) near Tempul seacht mic riogh on the same island. Roderic O'Flaberty<sup>2</sup> in 1683 tells circumstantially how the last-named drew a thorn from a man's eye. It cures sterility in married people, and the same thing was said of the enclosure outside the "cyclopean" west door of the sand-buried church of St. Coemhain on Inishere, which used to alter its length to suit that of the person using it.

*Other sites.*—There was an important pattern, still largely attended till about 1881, at "Bal," or Balla, near Castlereagh.<sup>3</sup> I have no later information, and it is somewhat beyond the limits of this paper, but MacParlan tells us in 1802 of the immense swarms of people who perform certain circuits and evolutions on their knees, and how sometimes not less than 200 sheep were consumed at the festival. The truncated round tower marks "Bal" as a place of ancient ecclesiastical importance. Persons made vows to perform stations at Croaghpatrick and "Bal," and those who neglected to fulfil them were "severely criticised." Other scenes of once important stations, or patterns, were first a venerated and very ancient tree at Killeen Nimhe burial

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. xxxii. (Clare Island Survey, part II.), pp. 52-6.

<sup>2</sup> *H'lar Connaught*.

<sup>3</sup> *Statistical Survey of Mayo* (1802), p. 150. A drawing of the pattern was published in *The Graphic* about 1878. The life of St. Mochua of Balla (Cronan, son of Becan) is given by Whitley Stokes in *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore* (1890), Cal. iii. of March. "Ball alutan, the well of Balla." The place was at first called "Ros Dairbrech in Cera." See also Maxwell, *Wild Sports of the West* (1832), p. 66, "The old four stations at Ball and 23 at Croughpatrick."

ground at Cordarragh near Aughagower; the latter church has also a round tower and a station, and Leaba Phadraig, the Pilgrims' Road, leads from it westward to the summit of the Reek of Croaghpatrick. The bell of the round tower is said to be hidden, and to be heard "giving tongue" in the bog of Teampul na h'fiacall.<sup>1</sup> There are two little-regarded stations at Tober breanail, or St. Brendan's Well, and Tober Derbhile, near Dunfeeny; Tober righ an Domhnaigh at Kilgeever had a pattern.

#### XVII. *Religious Objects and Relics.*

Two venerable and venerated wooden statues are preserved on Connacht islands,—"Father Molosh," a fine old oak statue of St. Molaise on Innismurray (Sligo),<sup>2</sup> and a very rude wooden figure of St. Brendan on Inisglora. If the statue of St. Molaise is clasped in the arms and invoked, help is secured for difficult childbirth. Each visitor to Inisglora should also embrace and kiss the figure of St. Brendan.

The bell of St. Leo has perished from excess of veneration, as little pieces of its bronzed iron were broken off as relics. A few are said to be still preserved on Inishark and Bofin, but I did not hear who were the owners. The bell is said to have been carried off by a French ship, but dangerous and incessant gales pursued the ship until the crew threw overboard the bell, which was found soon afterwards on the shore of St. Leo's Island, Inishark.

The "Naveen" or "Neevoge," i.e. little saint, was a venerated object preserved in a woollen bag at Iniskea. Some say it was a little stone figure, some a stone with a face, and some a flat stone. A priest is said to have broken it with a hammer.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, I was told by more than one person that it is extant, but carefully hidden, and one said that it had performed

<sup>1</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters, Mayo*, vol. i. p. 455.

<sup>2</sup> Illustrated by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in their handbooks to the Western Islands, and their extra volume on Innismurray by W. K. Wakeman. St. Brendan's statue is seen through the church door in the illustration in Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. i., and also in Caesar Otway's *Tour in Connaught*.

<sup>3</sup> *Erris and Tyranny*, pp. 107-9.

no miracles since it was broken. The abuse and ridicule showered upon this object by some would-be "reformers" render it difficult to get information about it. Some even said that a similar relic was kept on Achill. The Neevoge could raise or allay a tempest, bring a ship to be wrecked for the benefit of the islanders, and protect the boats of its devotees.<sup>1</sup>

(The late) THOS. J. WESTROPP.

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript ends with the words "To be continued," but Mr. Westropp's regretted death has, so far as can at present be ascertained, prevented the completion of his projected survey. Section XVIII. would have dealt with *Animals*, and Section XIX. with *Rocks and Stones*. [A. R. W.]

BUGGANE NY HUSHTY, THE BUGGANE-OF-THE-WATER :  
A MANX FOLKTALE.

[I received the following Manx folktale from an old Manx weaver, who emigrated to New Zealand some years ago.

(The late) SOPHIA MORRISON.]

THE *buggane ny hushtey* took his name, it is said, from living close to the sea in that big long cave which used to run from Garwick right through to Groudale. Some say that he is in there yet, for any dog that happens to go near the mouth of the cave will run away with his tail between his legs. The fishermen used to say that the *buggane* was the king of the fairies, although he was never seen with them, but it happened that the fairies were living up in the *trammion* (elder) trees in the brough above the mouth of the cave. This big cave had another entrance about halfway through in *slack* (a hollow) somewhere near to the Old Kirk Lonan Church, and it was in coming and going by this way that he was best known to the people of Chou Traa. Some of the people had a lot of good things to say for him, as many a time he had been a friend in need to them, while others said that wherever he came nothing but bad luck followed, but they were all agreed that he had no liking for lazy people, and would never give a helping hand to ones of that sort. Now it happened that not very far from this spot there lived an old bachelor of rather eccentric habits

who, as he was getting up in years, was getting more curious in his ways, till the neighbours often spoke of him as *Moal* (poor) Robin. He kept a cow or two, reared an old heifer, and prided himself on his breed of sheep, from whose backs he got all he wore but his *carranes* (brogues), even to his hat, and the colour of his whole rig out was *loghtan* (brown), except the tops of his stockings, which were white, and his knee breeches had brass buttons to match them. He had one horse, which did all the work on the place and carried him at least once a week to Douglas. As he was living alone, he had lots of odd jobs to attend to—feeding the hens, gathering the eggs, milking, churning, and making of butter. He was a bit of a mechanic too in his own way, and the repairs to his cart and harness would be causing no little amusement in the town, where he was often spoken of as Old Loghtan.

He got hold of a quarter-cask, which he cut in the middle and put new bottoms in the wide ends and made taps from pieces of trammon for them, and when he went to town with eggs and butter he would take a keg or two of buttermilk. To keep things safe, he tied the dog in the cart. One day a mischievous little fellow crept under the cart and tried to turn on one of the taps, when the dog made a leap and a growl. This made the horse to run; the string, it happened, was short, and the knot ran, and before the poor old fellow got to them the dog was strangled and the keg empty. That day the poor old Robin went home terribly down in the mouth, not so much for the loss of the milk as for the loss of his faithful friend and companion, who for many years slept on the mat by his bedside. He had a bad habit of coming home late and then pottering about doing the *carthans* (odds and ends of work) by the light of a lantern. Some say that on more than one occasion the *buggane* took umbrage at Robin's encroachments, but this particular night, when Robin got home, he found smoke coming out of the chimney, and when he went in, to his surprise he found the fire lit and the kettle steaming away on the *shlowrie* (chimney hook) and things on the table. To ease his mind a bit, he made a cup of tea, then he lit the lantern and went to the gate to let the cows in. The gate was open, but no

cows could be seen or heard. Then he went to the cow-house, where he found them tied up and snug, and went for the cans to milk them, when he found that the milking was done.

"*Dy saue bannie mee*" (Salvation, bless me!) he said, "*jeeagh cre red ta'n Fenodderes er n'yannoo*" (look what the phynnoderes has done), for there wasn't a sign or a sound of a living thing about the place.<sup>1</sup>

After the loss of his faithful friend he would be lying in his bed for hours that he couldn't get to sleep and then lying to a bit in the mornings. This kept him pottering a good deal with the lantern. As he was getting behind with the ploughing, he took the notion to put the lantern on the beam of the plough, and humming to himself all was going on smoothly for a long time, how long he couldn't remember, when all of a sudden off went the horse, plough, Robin, and all. The horse made a leap over the hedge, when away went the chains as the plough struck the hedge. Robin was thrown down and the lantern put out. In his fright Robin shouted and shouted till some of the neighbours made their way to him to see what was amiss. As luck happened, they found poor Robin more frightened than hurt. There was no sign of the horse seen, so they went home with him and saw him safe inside the house. Next day the dead body of the poor crather was found in the hole where the *buggane* was going and coming, and when the news went round the people gathered and rowl'd all the big stones round about into the hole, and covered them with gorse and briars and earth, and when that was done they held a confab, when they decided to take one of the crosses from the churchyard and set it in the track the *buggane* was taking,<sup>2</sup> and from that day to this nobody in Chou Traa has ever seen or heard him.

<sup>1</sup> The *phynnoderes* is a helpful being of the brownie type, but the *buggane* is a horrible and cruel being who can appear in any shape he pleases. [A. R. W.]

<sup>2</sup> Some years ago this beautiful cross was stolen from its position. A member of the Antiquarian Society who now lies in Lonan Churchyard mentioned to me the name of the Church of England minister whom he suspected of the theft.



## MALTESE DEATH, MOURNING, AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

SIR JAMES FRAZER'S communication of a coroner's note about "Beliefs regarding Death in Cumberland"<sup>1</sup> has suggested to me that I might put on record Maltese funeral customs now extant, some of which are analogous to those noticed in Cumberland.

Amongst our middle and lower classes the practice still lingers of placing a dish of salt on the stomach of the corpse, whether of a male or of a female. The popular belief in Malta is that the salt prevents early decomposition. Certeux and Carnoy<sup>2</sup> give the following interpretation of a practice by Arabs in Algeria: "*Il est de convenance religieuse . . . de lui poser sur le ventre [of the dead person] quelque chose de pesant, afin de prévenir le gonflement.*" One of our Maltese sayings runs:

*"Imt il-ghani u jmut il-fqir  
It-tnejn jiġmalku għal ge'ula il-bir."*

i.e. "Both the rich man and the poor man die, and both are salted for the pit" (a common rock tomb). This may, however, refer to the pickling or preservation of bodies in a saline solution.

The covering over of looking-glasses in the room where the body is lying is also practised by several Maltese families. Some go so far as to remove furniture, and turn round or take down pictures, in the death chamber and passages.

The following are the most characteristic features of existing Maltese practices, many of which are comparable to those of Sicily, while a few show some Eastern influence:—

(a) The washing of the dead body before shrouding. This is not a religious rite, and has no connection with that of Islam.

(b) The shutting of the eyelids, if open, and the raising of the chin by means of a band, usually a white kerchief, tied on the head.<sup>3</sup>

(c) The removal of door knockers and knobs; house doors are kept closed for several days; neighbours half-shut their own.

<sup>1</sup>Vol. xxxi., p. 154.

<sup>2</sup>*L'Algérie Traditionelle*, p. 223.

<sup>3</sup>This is practised in Algeria. See Certeux and Carnoy, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

In some districts doors or knockers are draped with black crape.

(d) The lowering of window blinds for some months. Some people, who follow old customs, replace all window curtains by linen sheets.

(e) The hiring of poor women and beggars to pray over and watch the corpse for the whole night. This custom prevails mostly in Gozo. In old days official female mourners, named *neūūieha* (from *neūūah*, "to cry") were employed. The practice was abolished in Malta during the plague of A.D. 1676.<sup>1</sup> Sicilians employed mourners called *Praeficae* or *Reputatrices*, a custom of Greek and Roman origin and practised by the Irish until A.D. 1849. It still prevails among the Corsicans and the Sahara tribes of Algeria. The old ceremonial of the Maltese female mourners is described by Abela as follows :—

They wore trailing veils (*karkār*), and when they entered the premises of the deceased they cut down the bower vines in the yard and threw the flower pots from the balconies and windows into the street. They searched the house for the finest piece of china, dashed it on the floor, and mixed the fragments with ashes from the hearth. They boiled the whole together in a pot, and with the mixture washed the door posts and window shutters of the house. During these proceedings they sang couplets which ended in long-drawn sighs and lamentations. Then they gathered round the corpse and knelt down, extolling the virtues of the deceased, the relations joining in their mourning.

(f) An oil lamp is often lit and left for forty days before the Crucifix or image of the Madonna in the death chamber. This is supposed to please the soul of the departed, whose ghost is in this way prevented from haunting the house. In some of the Gozo villages the persons attending the corpse to the burial-ground return in procession after the funeral mass to the room of the deceased, where they kneel down and say the rosary before the Crucifix, placed on a chest covered with white cloth, and between two lighted candles which are afterwards replaced by the devotional oil lamps. The belief still lingers that the

<sup>1</sup> Abela and Ciantar, *Malta Illustrated*, vol. ii. p. 794.

lamp must remain lighted for forty days, during which the soul of the departed remains above the flame.

(g) Some families give the poor bread. The love-feasts of the primitive Christians were in mediæval times replaced in both Malta and Sicily by the distribution of cakes and of boiled wheat mixed with sesame. Distributions of meat and bread to the poor came also to be a custom at some *festas*, but were continued in Sicily mainly by the giving of beans and bread on All Souls' Day.<sup>1</sup> In Malta on that day, however, the old custom has been replaced by the free kitchens or the "Potage for the Poor" (*Borma tal-Fqâr*).

Mourning customs in Malta have during the last century passed through wide changes and, as in other European countries, have reverted to a more simple type. Some are purely mediæval, and are influenced by the prolonged intercourse with Sicily and Italy during the rule of the Grand Masters. The vernacular term for mourning is *vistu*, corresponding to the Sicilian *visitum* ("to be in mourning").

The wearing of special mourning clothes was general in the fourteenth century, but became less marked by the year 1700. Women used to wear woollen trailing skirts and dark shawls over their heads. Some better-class people wore one black transparent veil over the head and another veil of black silk taffeta over the gown, reaching to the waist. A sort of Majorca woollen cloth is prescribed for mourning wear to the heirs under a will of A.D. 1543. The Grand Master's suite wore a special garment called *Scoto*, of thin light serge. Although it is nowadays customary with some families to put on as little mourning as possible and to shorten its period, a full mourning dress is worn by others for two full years after the death of parents. The simplest style of mourning, a black necktie and a crape arm band, is in general use after the death of a distant relative.

Family mourning is generally observed as follows :—

I. Closure of business premises, a mourning notice being affixed to the door.

II. Women keep indoors for a few weeks, only going out in

<sup>1</sup> G. Pitré, *Spettacoli e Feste Popolari*, vol. xii. p. 407.

the early morning to hear mass. In old times such seclusion was much more strictly observed, and the period was never less than forty days. For men this sort of mourning did not exceed seven days, and is now generally limited to three days, after the funeral.

III. Old custom prohibited cooking for three days, and the family of the deceased was provided with meals by friends or distant relatives. This rule was, and perhaps is still, followed in some districts of Sicily and amongst Arab tribes of Northern Africa. While meals were being served the bereaved family sat with folded legs on the floor, which was covered with a straw mat. The historian Ciantar relates in 1772 that these mourning dinners still took place in his early days. This custom has now been discontinued, and our village people merely abstain from having their pastry and other food prepared in a public oven for a period of some months after the death of a member of the family.

IV. Men often do not shave for a fortnight or even a month. This practice was more in favour in old times. Middle and lower class people keep away from *festas*, and the higher class from theatres, dancing, and merrymakings.

V. People of rank wear a mourning dress for a few days following a death in their family, but country people are satisfied with wearing a black felt hat and a dark sash round the waist. Women, if wives or brides, follow the continental style of full mourning dress in crape. Some women do not wear a hat or bonnet during the first week of mourning, and go out in *faldetta*, a national head-covering which is more commonly used when attending religious services. Since the seventeenth century the Maltese *faldetta* has undergone some changes in shape and material. The old *faldetta*, as described by Ciantar, was a black veil or cowl covering the head and reaching to the heels, like the Arab and Sicilian women's trailing mantles. Apparently countrywomen wore a blue linen veil, which is still adopted, for economy's sake, in some of the eastern seaside hamlets of the island, but amongst the lower class in general the black hood, which matrons changed into silk with lace edges, was more common. Bombazine (without lace) or silk *faldettas* are now

the popular style. The vernacular *ġulgħana* and *ghonnella* for the *faldetta* point to its probable origin; the word *ghonnella* is derived from the Italian *gonnella*. The term *falda*, with its diminutive *faldetta* (skirt), suggests that this hood or wimple represents the tail of the skirt put over the head inside out in wet weather. Black stone trinkets are worn in place of those of gold. Women in both villages and towns who cannot afford to buy special trinkets cover their earrings with black stuff.

The old funeral rites, described by Abela and Ciantar from extracts from wills of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, are only faint survivals of the gorgeous pseudo-pagan rites which prevailed in all parts of continental Europe up to the period of the Reformation, and in Malta when under Italian influence. Up to 1872 the burial of the dead generally took place in churches or in churchyards (Maltese *quntier*, from French *cimetière*). This still continues in country places, where people have family vaults. A law providing for extra-mural interment was proposed by De Rohan (A.D. 1775-1797), but it was only enforced by the Police Law of 1869, when a public cemetery was provided in 1871.

Since the adoption of the new burial law, funeral customs have assumed a very simple character. Old custom required that the dead body should be placed on a handbarrow or in a coffin with a cushion stuffed with laurel and orange leaves fixed under the head. The body was then conveyed to the church, with the relatives and friends following, and the wailing of the mourners accompanied by the sound of bagpipes, which in some villages are now replaced by violins and counterbasses to which lamentations are sung. Since the opening of the Addolorata Cemetery the dead are generally transported in hearses. The tolling of funeral bells was once so important that in many wills careful provision was made for it, and it even rivalled the usual charitable bequests. This corresponds to Sicilian custom in the fifteenth century. After burial of the corpse, a black carpet or coverlet, or a velvet counterpane, was laid over the grave, and left there for some days. The offering of flowers to the dead is at present in great favour amongst the less educated, but some of the higher class object to it as a pro-

fanation. Wreaths are laid on the grave, and oil lamps are lit on it for some days. The construction and decoration of the graves in the public cemetery is much the same as on the continent. Marble slabs with inscriptions are very common. Pillars with crosses on the top and sacred statues are also erected on bases of marble, or bronze reliefs symbolising Time and Eternity. The higher class own vaults in the form of chapels, in which an altar is erected and requiem masses are said.

In the professional and educated classes cards expressing sympathy are sent by friends to the mourning family, but in some districts, especially in the country, people still follow the old etiquette of paying a mourning visit within nine days of the death. Photographs of the deceased, with an inscription, are sent to friends and acquaintances.

A. CREMONA.

#### THE EVIL EYE IN ROUMANIA, AND ITS ANTIDOTES.

THE first point which was impressed on me when living in Roumania was the precautions I must always take to avoid casting the evil eye. As babies are fascinating objects, my natural instinct was to look at them rather intently, and even to murmur some complimentary remark. I was invariably interrupted by my husband or maid, who began spitting repeatedly, saying "*Să nu-i fie de doochiu!*" (Let it not be a cause for the giving of the evil eye), and dragging me away. I had not realised that I was bringing the poor baby into danger. Any observation and any praise would have been enough to cast the evil eye on the baby, but the danger was much intensified by the fact that I had green eyes—a rare thing in Roumania, where most eyes are brown. The only things wanting to make the danger almost fatal were that my eyebrows should have been joined, or that I should have been born in a caul, or have been weaned twice over. That my intentions were eminently benevolent did not make things any better, as the casting of the evil eye is not intentional. It is, however, possible to take precautions to avoid casting the

evil eye—namely, spitting three times and saying "*Să nu-i fie de deochiu!*" The Roumanian habit of calling a child *urîtule* (ugly thing, horror) as a term of endearment is nothing but a precaution against the evil eye. But I have seen this word lead to strained relations, possibly as undesirable as the evil eye, when inadvertently used towards the children of Westerners.

The symptoms caused by the evil eye are broken sleep, or loss of sleep, headache, constant yawning, buzzing in the ears, any kind of digestive pain or derangement, fever, depression, and general weakness. Even death may result.

Although children, and more especially young babies, are most exposed to suffering from the evil eye, all kinds of living beings, and even inanimate objects, may suffer. Domestic animals, more especially the new born, show the effects of the evil eye by pining away, flocks of sheep by diminishing in number, fowls by pecking at one another, bees by deserting their hives, fruit-trees by drying up, milk by not giving butter, houses by falling in pieces, and money by diminishing in quantity.

There are various methods of gauging the mischief caused by the evil eye, whether it is likely to be fatal or not. These methods generally form part of the rites performed in breaking the spell of the evil eye. Thus in Mehedinți, after the sacrament given to the person *deochiat* (afflicted by the evil eye), the priest puts a crumb of the sacred bread into a glass of water. If the bread floats, every one becomes as cheerful as if the sun had come out from behind a cloud, for the sick person will get well again; if it falls to the bottom, the sick person is no longer for this world, and the women at once begin the death lament, a fact which does not exactly improve the patient's chances of recovery.

Another method is to melt a piece of lead or of yellow wax, and pour it into a glass of water. The lead or wax, cooled down rapidly by the water, is supposed to take the form of a human figure. If the head is upwards, it is a sign that the evil eye has not been fatal, and the child will live. If the head is downwards, the child will die.

With the evil eye, as with everything else, prevention is better than cure, so precautions are taken by parents that their children shall not be *deochiat*. Among the Serbs a red thread is worn by a mother on her middle finger for a long time before her baby is born; in Macedonia a twisted red and white thread is worn round the neck. In Bukowina, during the birth of a child, the midwife makes a red tassel and nails it over the door; in Moldavia she puts a needle with a red thread on the threshold; and in Macedonia she puts a twisted red and white thread over the door and a knife at the threshold. The nail, needle, and knife, being of iron, keep off evil spirits in general, not the evil eye in particular.

If the baby should be born in a caul, the caul is preserved. It is spread on sweet basil to dry, and kept as a charm against various forms of evil. If it is possible to obtain water in which a white goose has been washed, it is advisable to bathe the baby in this as a charm against witchcraft in general. Salt in the bath protects against the evil eye and evil spirits. After the bath a spot of white ashes (*benchie*) is put on the baby's forehead, as a special protection against the evil eye. A similar spot of mud or of ashes can be put on the forehead at any period of childhood to protect the child, and to be a warning to visitors of the danger of evil eye, so that they may say "*Să nu-î fie de doochiu!*" to themselves. In Vâlcea, saliva is placed on the navel as a protection against the evil eye. Till a child is at least a year old, it must never look into a mirror, or it will cast the evil eye over itself. Hence all mirrors are removed from the room where the baby is, or, if not, they are carefully covered up. Protection against the evil eye is also obtained by dressing a child so as to avoid observation, or even dressing it so badly as to call forth unfavourable comment only. The most general form of protection is, however, to wear something red, and after birth both mother and child go on wearing red ribbons or bows for a long time.

The red is not used for children only, but also for young animals. Once a calf was born in the yard of a peasant cottage in Transilvania where I was staying. Before I even saw it, it had bits of red flannel tied to its horns, to the root and tip of its



tail, at intervals down the tail, in fact everywhere where red flannel could by any means be got to stick on.

In the case of older babies the red bow is considered specially necessary when the baby leaves its own home. My eldest baby had hair so very short and fair that it was almost invisible. My maid used to prepare her for a visit by getting three or four hairs in the centre of her head to stick together by licking them, or waxing them, and then attaching to them a big red bow. The effect produced by the red bow, apparently springing from nothing on the head of the smiling unconscious child, was certainly ridiculous enough to ward off anything other than a laugh.

It is to be noted that the Turks, who also believe strongly in the evil eye, guard against it by putting on something blue. The significance of red is of great interest. Does it represent the colour of blood in sacrifice, as the blood on the doorpost to ward off the destroying angel in the tenth plague would seem to suggest, or does it represent fire as a purifying agent?

Another method of guarding against the evil eye is to wear an amulet. The most complicated of these amulets are made by the Transilvanians, and contain 3 bulbs of garlic, 3 grains of pepper, 3 of spring wheat and 3 of autumn wheat, 3 pieces of incense, 3 grains of salt, 3 crumbs of bread, and, lastly, 3 pieces of the caul of a child. Other amulets to tie round the neck of the child are a little bag with some charcoal, some garlic gathered at Trinity, or a piece of the bark of a fir-tree. Often the customary red ribbon round the neck of a child has garlic fastened to it. A bulb of garlic may also be tied to the tail of domestic animals.

As money may be *deochiat* by counting it, or a flock of sheep by saying how many sheep are in it, obvious precautions against the evil eye in such cases are that tradesmen should never count their money till the evening, so as not to spoil business, that card players should never count their gains till the close of the game, and that shepherds should never tell how many sheep they have.

If, in spite of all precautions, a child has been *deochiat*, the

obvious thing to do is to remove the spell. Sometimes a *baba* (an old woman skilled in removing spells) is called in. She puts some glowing charcoal into water, repeating, if she knows one, a powerful incantation; if not, saying the Lord's Prayer. Then she washes the face of the child with this water and gives it some to drink.\* More often those in charge of the child carry out the same proceeding themselves; in fact it seemed to me to be a matter of routine in my household to give my babies water into which glowing charcoal had been put if they cried much. If a child fell or seemed in any way to have had a fright, it was given fresh water (*apa neinceputa*) to drink. This, however, so far as I understood, was a form of charm against evil influences in general rather than against the evil eye in particular.

In Vâlcea, the spell of the evil eye is also removed by a *baba* with water and glowing charcoal, but the ceremony is altogether more complicated. A new earthenware pot is taken and filled with water, and into this are thrown as many pieces of glowing charcoal as there are persons under suspicion of having cast the evil eye. If a piece of charcoal sinks to the bottom of the pot, this means that the person it represents has cast the evil eye. The *baba* says a charm to remove the spell, and the child *deochiat* is sprinkled with the water, and also drinks some. A quite similar proceeding is adopted if, instead of a child, a domestic animal has been *deochiat*.

Among the Jugoslavs two bits of charcoal are supposed to tell what is to be the fate of the person *deochiat*. The *baba* takes two bits of glowing charcoal, and one she calls "life," and the other "death." She puts them into a pot, and pours water on them. If "life" falls to the bottom, the person *deochiat* dies; if "death" falls he lives.

It is thus seen that the great charms which protect against the evil eye are something red, garlic, and salt. The great charm which breaks the spell, when it has been cast, is glowing charcoal—and it seems not impossible that the protecting influence of red may be due to red representing in a weakened but permanent form the glowing of the charcoal.

In the incantations which break the spell of the evil eye, the

evil eye is personified and addressed as if he were an evil spirit, thus :—

"Avaunt, oh evil eye, from the eyes,  
 Avaunt, oh evil eye,  
 Or the breath from the mouth will get at you.  
 Avaunt, oh evil eye,  
 Or a blast of breath will get at you.  
 Avaunt, oh evil eye, from the eyes,  
 Or the sun will get at you,  
 And cut off your feet.  
 Avaunt, oh evil eye, from the cheeks,  
 From the gristle of the nose,  
 From the shoulders and the neck,  
 From the brain in the head,  
 From the spleen and from the heart.

Come out and go away,  
 For I have broken your spell with my words.  
 I have taken you by the hand,  
 And I have thrown you to the winds,  
 That — may remain clean, holy, and with a clear  
 mind  
 Like the flowers of the meadow,  
 Like the dew of the morning."

It is clear that the evil eye, in spite of its terrible effects, is conceived of as a singularly childlike and docile spirit, if the recitation of the above be sufficient to get rid of him for ever.<sup>1</sup>

A. MURGOCI.

<sup>1</sup> References : Gh. F. Ciomsanu, *Superstițiile Poporului Român*, cap. xxx ; T. Stratilescu, *From Carpathians to Pindus*, pp. 248-9.

THE PROVENIENCE OF CERTAIN NEGRO FOLKTALES.

(Continued from Vol. xxxii, p. 201.)

V. THE HOUSE-KEEPERS.

AMONG European tales the tale of Bear-Son or Donkey-Son<sup>1</sup> has been a rich source of negro tales,<sup>2</sup> a veritable matrix tale of the several incidents of which two at least have become independent tales identifiable only through the study of variants. The two incidents are the guarding of the king's property by Donkey-Son and his mates against the visitation of the giant, and after the rescue of the king's daughter the faithless conduct of Donkey-Son's mates in cutting the rope by which Donkey-Son is ascending from the pit. Let us follow the first incident, reserving the second for later discussion.

In a complete version of Donkey-Son told in Portuguese dialect by a Cape Verde Islander in New England,<sup>3</sup> after Pedr', the foundling, has set off into the world and assembled his followers, they come to the house of a king whose daughter has been carried off and whose garden has been devastated by Giant-of-Hell.

Pedr' said to the king—"I am going to kill that giant. Share the garden with us, we four will guard it. Give us men to work it." The king rang his bell, a thousand men came. The king gave Pedr' four oxen, four pigs, four sheep, and four goats. The garden had different gates, but the giant used only one. Pedr' and his three friends made a fire. They decided that Mouro Pé di Cabal' should stay there to cook and to watch the gate. At noon Mouro Pé di Cabal' rang the bell for dinner. He saw Giant-of-Hell standing at the gate. Giant-of-Hell said to him, "Give me fire to light my pipe." Mouro Pé di Cabal' said to him, "I am not your servant, get fire if you want." The giant got fire, and then he spat in the pot of food. It turned black. Mouro Pé di Cabal' struck at Giant-of-Hell; but Giant-of-Hell slapped him on the back of his neck, he dropped senseless. Dundun di Sanbena said to the king, "To-morrow I'll stay to cook. This man here is no man at all." The king sent more food to them. At noon Dundun

<sup>1</sup> See J. Bolte u. F.G. Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, xci. Leipzig, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> American Indians have also borrowed the tale, from the Spanish and French. See *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, vol. xxv. pp. 244-5; vol. xxix. p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs American Folk-Lore Society*, vol. xv. no. 12.

di Sanbuna rang the bell for dinner. There stood Giant-of-Hell at the gate. He said, "Give me a fire-stick to light my pipe." "I am not your servant, get fire if you want." Giant-of-Hell got his fire-stick, then he spat in the pot. Dandun di Sanbuna struck at Giant-of-Hell; but he slapped him on the neck, he fell senseless. The next day Raforça Rube'ra Grande, who was the strongest of the three, stayed to cook. At noon he rang the bell for dinner. There stood Giant-of-Hell at the gate. He said, "Give me a fire-stick to light my pipe." "I am not your servant, get it if you want." Giant-of-Hell got a fire-stick, he spat in the pot. Raforça Rube'ra Grande struck at him; but Giant-of-Hell slapped him on the neck, he fell senseless. The king said that he would take away his men. Pedr' begged the king to leave his men, but to cut down the rations. At a quarter of twelve Pedr' rang the bell for dinner. He went to the door to meet Giant-of-Hell. Giant-of-Hell said to him, "Give me fire to light my pipe." "I am not your servant, get it, if you want it." Pedr' had several pots on cooking. When Giant-of-Hell went to get fire, he spat in the first. Pedr' said to him, "You are not going to spit in the others." Pedr' drew his sword, *Tres-Balanç*, he hit the giant with it, he split him in two. One half fell down on the ground, the other half went straight to hell. . . .

There is another much shortened Cape Verde Islands version in which, however, the house-keeping incident is fully told. Little Superman's companions are three herdsmen, who in turn go hunting while one stays in the castle to cook and to receive the visit of the food-commandeering giant.

In the Angola version,<sup>1</sup> it is an old woman who comes to fight in turn with each of the home-staying companions, her grand-daughter the prize. The old woman wins every time, and weights each man down with a stone until she is overcome by the child who has spoken to his mother from the womb. The child kills the old woman, and remains with her grand-daughter.

In the animal version of the Cape Verde Islands the unborn child also speaks,

There was a wolf with [his] nephew and Jaguar. They lived together. Nephew went out to get wood. He met a pregnant woman with a big bundle of wood. The woman called to him to come help her put it on her head. Nephew said to her, "Why don't you call your husband to come help you put it on?" The woman heard a voice inside of her saying, "Mother, wet your little finger in your mouth, knock it three times on a stone, I shall be born. I will help

<sup>1</sup> Heli Chatelain, *Folk-Tales of Angola, Memoirs American Folk-Love Society*, vol. I. pp. 96-101.

you put it on your head." When they went home, the child told his mother he was going to get fire in the house over there. "My son, you are born to-day, and you want to go and get fire in a place you don't know!" Little Bald-Headed took with him a stick and some *lolo*. He tied the *lolo* across the road, and he went into the house. "Sir Wolf, I came to get fire," he said. "Go get fire, but don't look up!" There was meat hanging from the ceiling in the kitchen. Little Bald-Headed went in, he looked up, he pulled off a ham, he ran. Wolf saw him, he ran after him, he caught in the tied-up *lolo*, he fell. The child beat him. When Wolf came back all beaten up, the others asked him, 'What is the matter with you?' He answered, "I went to split wood, I hit my leg with the axe." Jaguar said, 'To-morrow I stay at home to cook' ...

The following version of the House-keepers has been recorded among the Hausa of the West Coast.<sup>1</sup> A woman prays to God, "Let me have a child, even though it be a clay pot." After the woman is delivered of a pot she goes into the forest to get firewood. Her son emerges from the pot, and in the forest begins to cut down the hedge made by the Beasts.

"Then the Gazelle said, 'Hey, who is cutting this hedge?' for the Gazelle had been told off to watch the place until the other Beasts returned. The Boy said, 'Let me come in and you will see me' ... 'What is your name?' ... 'The Gift-of-God... Will you not give some water to drink?' So she brought him some, and he drank it; and then he said, 'Bring me some to bathe my head.' When he had been given it, he said, 'Get up, and let us wrestle.' So he wrestled with the Gazelle, and threw her, and he plucked out her mane and tied her up with it... Then the Hyena said, 'Oh, well, to-morrow I shall stay here, and keep guard.'"

In the Hausa version<sup>2</sup> of the House-keepers in which the visitant is the worsted party, Awudu, the Strong One, son of a man possessed of cattle, goes out into the world to try his strength. He is joined by three other men of power, one of whom stays at the foot of a monkey-bread tree to guard their possessions. A devil<sup>3</sup> comes out, wrestles with the guard, and binds him. The others take their turn, with like result, until the devil finds his match in Awudu. They rise up to the sky, grunting all the time.

<sup>1</sup> A. J. N. Tremearne, *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, pp. 354-7.

<sup>2</sup> Tremearne, *op cit.*, pp. 414-7.

<sup>3</sup> In a variant, first a dog appears to steal the food; and, when the dog is beaten, up comes the One-inside-the-tree.

"They have never stopped even unto this day. That is the reason of the rumbling of the thunder."<sup>1</sup>

There is a variant from Sierra Leone,<sup>2</sup> in which wrestling is also a feature, but the house-keeper or fire-keeper is a little girl named Goro, and her visitants, the animals—Deer, Elephant, Leopard, Cat, Spider, Rabbit, and Conk. Each in turn is raised up into the air by Goro, to stay from a week to two years, until Conk finally raises up Goro herself, for five years.

In a Basuto variant,<sup>3</sup> the companions are little Hare, Rabbit, and Springbuck, and the creature who comes to eat their dung, which is also their food, is called the Myphotanyane. Springbuck and Rabbit are each in turn worsted, then Little Hare, the chief, proposes to the Myphotanyane lessons in medicine. "Bind my neck with this string," says little Hare. "When I say: Ichi! loosen." The Myphotanyane bound him strongly. Little Hare said, "Ichi! Ichi! Myphotanyane!" The Myphotanyane loosened the string. Then he bound the Myphotanyane. When he tried to say "Ichi! Ichi! little Hare!" little Hare bound him more strongly till he died.

First Gazelle, then Hare, is placed on guard in a variant of Gazaland,<sup>4</sup> and their visitant is Eater-of-the-dung of animals.

In an Amaxosa variant,<sup>5</sup> the animals make a kraal and put some fat in it, and appoint a keeper of the gate. The keeper falls asleep; comes the Inkalimeua, a fabulous animal, and eats up the fat. In turn on guard are Coney, Muishond, Chicken, Bluebuck, Porcupine, and, defeater of the visitant, the Hare, who proposes the game of fastening each other by the tail.

This Kaffir variant is closely paralleled by one of the two recorded variants of Georgia,<sup>6</sup> where Wattle Weasel is the visitant, and Mink, Possum, Coon, Fox, Wolf, B'ar, and Rabbit are

<sup>1</sup> In the Cape Verde Island tale the man who keeps the king's daughter arrives with thunder and lightning, wind and rain.

<sup>2</sup> F. M. Cronise and H. W. Ward, *Cunnie Rabbit, Mr. Spider and the other Bees*, pp. 55-65.

<sup>3</sup> E. Jacottet, *The Treasury of Basuto Lore*, vol. i. pp. 26-31.

<sup>4</sup> E. Jacottet, "Contes du Pays de Gaza," *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, vol. x. pp. 379-380.

<sup>5</sup> G. M'Call Theal, *Kaffir Folk-Lore*, pp. 179-184.

<sup>6</sup> Joel Chandler Harris, *Nights with Uncle Remus*, lv.

set in turn to safeguard the butter in the springhouse, Rabbit in conclusion snaring the raider by the tail.

In the other Georgia variant,<sup>1</sup> a coon family are those from whom the food is stolen, by Brer Bear, who frightens first the coon children, then Brer Coon, by saying in a heavy voice, "Revenue, Revenue, where my hole?" Finally Sis Coon stays home, and takes the axe and splits open the head of the big black thing.

In several variants from the Bahama Islands<sup>2</sup> the matrix tale is less modified:—

(1) "B' o' Rabbit, b' o' Boukee, b' o' Horse, and b' o' Cow are the mates, and b' o' Devil, called one foot dup, their visitant. B' o' Boukee said, 'Man, le' me stay home! B' o' Boukee think he cook his little pot o' pessa an' rice.' . . . When one foot dup come dese dis day fe fire, he meet b' o' Boukee eatin'. He say, 'Man, gi' me a little bit.' . . . Ven he finish eatin' dat, he ask b' o' Boukee for some more. B' o' Boukee tol' him, 'No.' An he los' b' o' Boukee up in the sky.' . . . Rabbit catches one foot dup with a net, and they all "lick him half to deat." And he runs "to his cave-hole an' never return."

(2) "Dis Jack, b' o' Greybeard, b' o' Long Tus', an' b' o' Terpin, lookin' for lively livin'. Jack an' b' o' Greybeard gone huntin' Jack lef' b' o' Terpin to cook. . . . Debil say, 'Hello, b' o' Terpin!' Say, 'Le' me tas' yer po'!' . . . The others stay home to cook, finally Jack who shoots b' o' Debil.

(3) Jack's mates are Harry and Tom. Jack rigs a gallows over a hole for b' o' Devil.<sup>3</sup>

(4) Jack's mates are Jim and Jill; Jack knocks down Old-Devil with a belaying-pin and nails him by his ears<sup>4</sup> to the wall. Old-Devil "jerk and jerk until he jerk his head away and left his two ears."

In North Carolina the following fragmentary versions of the tale have been recorded:—

"Travellin' in the country, sellin' tobacker. 'Plied at ol' school-house to stay all night. 'Long came ol' big hant-eyes equal to moons, head equal to a barrel, a tail six or seven feet long. He settin' up to de fire. An' he [hant] spit over his master's tea. Dis colored man says, "Don't you do dat no more." Chum! Spit. Nex' 'ply was, 'Don't you do dat no more. I hit you sure. Chum!'"

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Backus, "Folk-Tales from Georgia," *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, vol. xiii. pp. 26-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs American Folk-Lore Society*, vol. xiii. pp. 142-3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Angola version.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Portuguese version, in which the giant's ears are cut off.



And this: "Said that a man went to camp. An' they fix the supper down before the fire. An' said there was a man come down the steps an' hawked an' spitted over his fry meat. He tol' him he better not do that any mo' " . . .

In two Virginian variants the tale takes a turn which is very popular in the Southern States. Asked to stay in a certain haunted log cabin, Uncle Sam says, "If you'll git me fifty dollars, a chunk o' bread, a fryin' pan, and all de meat I kin fry an' eat, I'll stay dah, jes as sho' as he wol' stan'." . . . A small, black being runs out on the hearth, spits across the frying pan into the fire beyond, and says, "There is nobody here but you and me to-night." The ghost turns, spits again in the fire, this time about an inch from the frying pan. Uncle Sam says, "Don't you spit in that meat!" The ghost kicks the pan of meat into the fire, gives Uncle Sam a claw between the eyes, and says, "There is nobody here but you and me to-night." Uncle Sam says, "I—I—I'll not be here long."<sup>1</sup> In the other Virginian variant a little animal came in the chimney and *turned the frying pan over*<sup>2</sup> and said, "There's nobody but you and me here to-night, Uncle Moses." And he set his frying pan up again and he [the animal] turned the frying pan over again and said, "There's nobody but you and me here to-night, Uncle Mose," and Uncle Mose said, "Yes, an' I ain't agwine to be here long."<sup>3</sup>

This final joke is found variously elaborated as an efflorescence possibly of the tale of The House-keepers, but more likely as a contribution from another tale. I will give a short illustrative series.

(1) From North Carolina:

A man had a house an' lot. He'd give it to any man who'd go an' stay all night. An' one ol' black man said he could stay dere. An' he took his Bible an' his light, an' sot down dah an' went to readin'. An' he looked 'round, an' dah sat an ol' black cat aside of him. De ol' black cat said, 'Dere's nobody here but I an' you to-night.' He said, 'Dere'l be nobody here but you directly, neither.' He broke

<sup>1</sup> *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, vol. xxx. pp. 179-180.

<sup>2</sup> *Southern Workman*, vol. xxviii. p. 449.

<sup>3</sup> Note the disappearance of the spitting incident.

out an' run, an' got powerful tired, an' sat down on a log to rest; an' he looked around, an' dah sat de ol' black cat again. An' he [cat] said, 'Dat was a right good race we had up here.' An' the man said, 'We're goin' to have anoder one, too.'<sup>1</sup>

(2) From South Carolina :

"Once there was an old house which stood in a field. And many people had died out of it." One man offers another a cartload of watermelon, to sleep in it. "So the old man went there and begin to smoke his pipe. He said, 'I done got that watermelon.' And he begin to nod. And he heard a voice say, 'It isn't but we two in here to-night.' And the man said, 'By God ! it wont be but you one.' And he begin to run, and met a rabbit. So he said, 'Rabbit, get out of the way ! Let somebody run who can run !' "<sup>2</sup>

(3) From Virginia :

Mr. Scott offers Uncle Tom a cartload of watermelons to stay in a haunted house. . . . "After a while a pair of boots came down. Then a barrel came down. Then a broom came down. . . . Then the ghost came down. Said, 'It ain't nobody here but you and me.' Uncle Tom said, 'I ain't gwine to be here long.' Uncle Tom began to run. He got tired and sat down on a stone. When he looked around he saw the ghost an' all the things sittin' down alongside of him."<sup>3</sup>

(4) From Florida :

De man got frightened at de ghos' ! He leetle Fido dawg wid him. De man ran, de leetle dawg behin' him. De man got tired an' stopped, an' said, 'I'm tired.' De leetle dawg said, 'Me too.' Said, 'Fido, I didn't know you could talk. Let's go furdur.'<sup>4</sup>

(5) From the Sea Islands, S.C. :

A man has a mule named Jack. "An' eve'y Sunday mornin' he would sen' de boy down to de stable to plough all day Sunday. . . . An' he always say, 'Stan' back, Jack !' " One Sunday the mule answers, "Eve'y Sunday mornin' it's 'Stan' back, Jack ! Stan' back, Jack !' " De boy scared. Den he run back an' tell his popa, say, 'De mule talkin'.' 'No, he ain't ! Go hitch up !' 'You come an' see !' When he got dere, de mule still sayin', 'Eve'y Sunday mornin' it's a Stan' back, Jack !' De ol' man he got scared, an' he started to run. . . . An' he run, goin' holier', 'I never heard a mule talk !'

<sup>1</sup> Recorded in Elizabeth City County, by E. C. P.

<sup>2</sup> *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, vol. xxx. p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> Recorded in the Sea Islands, by E. C. P. See, too, *Journ. Amer. Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxii. pp. 367-8 ; vol. xxxiv. p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Recorded in Elizabeth City County, by E. C. P.

Little dawg, he was right behin' him, say, 'Me neither.' Eve'y time de man say, 'I never heard a mule talk,' little dawg say, 'Me neither.' " . . .<sup>1</sup>

In an inland Carolinian variant of this tale, a man and then his boss say to the mule, "Git up, 'Jack," and the mule says he isn't going to do it. Both men start to run. They lie down behind a log. An' de lawg say, "I couldn' hide yer. I roll over on yer." An' dey went an' seed de overcoat hangin' up 'longside de tree. De overcoat say, 'I couldn' hide bof of yer.' . . . They meet a man ploughing with two mules, and start to tell him the story. "An' de mules say, 'Also me!'" All three run.<sup>2</sup>

This tale of the Things that Talk may be recognized as a European tale, although hitherto, except for a Cape Verde Islands tale, I have failed to find parallels.

The fusion that has taken place, in some measure at least, between the Things that Talk and The House-keepers is a pretty instance, I take it, of tale building, including the processes of disintegration and integration.

ELSIE CLENS PARSONS.

### MYTHS FROM THE GILBERT ISLANDS, II.<sup>3</sup>

#### I. *The Myth of Nakas and the Forbidden Tree* (*Nei Tearia of Banaba*).

In the beginning were born Tabakea and his sister Tituabine from the rubbing together of heaven and earth. And as yet it was all a black darkness, for heaven and earth were not yet separated. From the overside of heaven, as it lay upon earth, sprang Banaba; it was the Navel of Te-bongi-so, which is to say, the multitude of islands that were in the Darkness of heaven and earth.

Then Tabakea lay with his sister Tituabine on Banaba, and she bore him children. Firstborn was a son, whose name was

<sup>1</sup> *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, vol. xxx. p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxiv. p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. vol. xxxiii. pp. 91-112.

Nakaa the Old One. After him were born many others, both men and women; they all lived on Banaba, and Nakaa was chief of them all, for he was the firstborn.

But in those days the people were innocent; the men knew not the women. So the brothers of Nakaa lived with him on the north-west side of Banaba, in the place called Bōuru; and the women, their sisters, lived apart from the men, on the south-east side of Banaba.

In Bōuru, the place of the men, there was a Fish-Trap by the shore, where the fish might never be exhausted; and yet there was but a single fish in the trap at a time, but when it was taken another straightway came in its place. In Bōuru also grew the coconut-tree whose fruit was inexhaustible; yet there grew but a single nut on the tree at a time; but when it was plucked another grew straightway on the same stalk. The name of that Tree was Tara-Kai-maiu, the Tree of Life.<sup>1</sup>

In the place of the women on the south-east side of Banaba stood also a Tree, whose name was Kariki-bāi; that Tree was a woman, and all the brothers of Nakaa were forbidden to approach her.

On a day, Nakaa said to his brothers, "I go on a journey. See that ye pluck not the flowers of the Woman Kariki-bāi." So he left them, and for a while they remembered his judgment. But the wind bore them the scent of the Woman's flowers, and their hearts were full of desire; they said one to another, "Let us go and see for ourselves; perchance some good thing may happen that Nakaa begrudges us." So they went and plucked the flowers of the Woman and disported themselves with her.

When Nakaa returned from his journey he looked upon the faces of his brothers and knew that they were no longer as children; he was aware of a sweet smell in the air, and knew that it was the smell of the Woman's flowers in their hair; he seized hold of them one by one and searched the hairs of their heads. Behold, their hair was beginning to turn grey. And he went to the women of the Tree in the East, and it was the same with them.

<sup>1</sup> *Tara-Kai-maiu* is literally Behold-Tree-Life.

So Nakaa was full of anger and said, "Fools, that could not abide my word! Old age and death are come among you!"

And he knew that their eyes were blinded, and their hearts darkened with unwisdom. So he led them to the Tree of Life, and he led them again to the Tree of the Woman, saying, "Choose, ye fools, between the two Trees, and I will take away with me the Tree that ye choose not." This he did to try them. And lo, they chose the Tree of the Woman, that is also called Tara-Kai-mate, the Tree of Death. And Nakaa arose to leave them, taking with him the Tree of Life. But before he left them he flung at them a handful of small insects that he had made, wrapped in the leaves of the pandanus tree. And the insects settled on the backs of their heads, and never again left them, nor their children, nor their children's children, until to-day. And they began to bore at the base of their skulls, until the life was eaten out. And so men came by their death. And because of the pandanus leaves in which the death-insects were wrapped, we enshroud our dead in a winding-sheet of pandanus leaf matting even to this day.

As for Nakaa, he took away with him the Tree of Life and the Fish-Trap that is never empty. He departed to the Western horizon, and there he sits in the heavens awaiting the souls of dead mortals. He faces North, forever weaving nets. And when a soul comes to him he catches it in the flying strand and laughs with scorn, saying, "Child of the Woman, thou art come back to me, for my word was a hard word in Bōuru." Then with jibing words he gazes upon the soul, and if it is of a comely appearance his heart is softened, and he says, "Pass on to the Tree of Life." But if the soul is of an unpleasing shape, he throws it into the midst of a struggling heap of souls that are condemned to writhe in everlasting entanglement. The name of that heap is Te Rekerua.

## II. *Beruan version of the Five-myth.*

In the beginning there were two lords. Tabakea was lord of Tarawa, the land; he lived on the land. And Bakoa was lord of Marawa, the sea; he lived in the sea.

Then Bakoa begot a child, whose name was Te-Ika. When Te-Ika grew up he was forever lying on the surface of the sea watching the sunrise. When the sun's first beams shot up over the horizon, it was his daily endeavour to catch a beam in his mouth and bite it off. So for many days he tried to do that thing, and at last he was successful; he caught a sunbeam in his mouth, and swam away with it to his father Bakoa. When he came to his father's house he went in and sat down with the sunbeam beside him; but, behold, when Bakoa came in he was amazed at the heat of the place, and said to his son, "Get hence, thou art burning hot and the house smokes where thou sittest." So Te-Ika left his father's house, and took his sunbeam to another place; but, behold, wherever he sat it was the same; the house began to smoke and everything that was near him shrivelled up with the heat.

At last Bakoa was afraid that everything he had would be dried up and destroyed by his son, so he drove Te-Ika forth from that place, saying, "Get hence, for thou wilt be the death of us all." So Te-Ika fled before his father's face and went eastward to Tarawa, where Tabakea dwelt. When he came to Tabakea's land he went ashore with his sunbeam, but behold, wherever he went the trees and the houses were shrivelled up in his presence, for the sunbeam was burning hot and its heat had entered into the body of Te-Ika also.

Then Tabakea arose against Te-Ika to drive him forth, but he could not. So he took for his weapons every tree and branch that he could lay his hands upon; therewith he belaboured the body of Te-Ika. He beat him with wood of the *uri*-tree (*Guettarda speciosa*), he beat him with wood of the *ren*-tree (*Tournefortia argentea*), he beat him with the bark of the *Kanawa*-tree (*Cordia subcordata*), and with dry rubbish fallen from the coconut-tree. So mightily he belaboured Te-Ika that at last he battered both him and his sunbeam into little fragments, that scattered over the whole land.

But when Te-Ika had left his father Bakoa and had been gone awhile, his father began to grieve after him, for he loved him dearly. At last he arose and began to search all the seas for his son, but he found him not. So he began to search the

land; and at last he went eastward to Tabakea's land. There he said to Tabakea, "Hast thou seen my son? He has a burning body and carries a sunbeam with him." Tabakea said, "I have seen him. He came hither, and I would have beaten him hence, for I feared him, but I could not. Then I belaboured him and his sunbeam so mightily that they were both broken in fragments and scattered over my land." When Bakoa heard that he grieved bitterly, for he loved his son, so Tabakea said, "Stay, for I will bring thy son to life again." So he took a stick of the *svi*-tree, wherewith he had belaboured Te-Ika, and rubbed it upon a stick of the *ren*-tree. Lo, it was a great magic, for it began to smoke, and Bakoa said, "It smokes as the trees smoked when my son was near them." Then Tabakea made a heap of dry bark of the trees wherewith he had belaboured Te-Ika and, blowing upon his rubbing sticks where they had been rubbed together, he made a flame, and lighted a fire. Bakoa was amazed at that great magic. He said, "Behold, it is my son that thou hast brought to life again." Then he would have taken the fire and carried it back with him to westward, for he said it was indeed his son; but behold, when he entered the sea to take it home, it was put out in the water, and he could never carry his son away with him. So it is to this day; the body and the sunbeam of Te-Ika, which were broken in pieces by Tabakea, remain forever in the heart of the sticks and rubbish with which they were belaboured by Tabakea on Tarawa, and they can never again go back to the sea.

ARTHUR GRIMBLE.

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#### STONE ERECTIONS IN INDIA.

BANNERGATTE is a small village about twelve miles from Bangalore. One fine afternoon in April, 1920, we motored down to the village, which lies at the foot of a hill. Just before the village temple were the "gallows" used for the hook-swinging ceremony. In former days devotees used to be actually "hooked" in the back, but now the Mysore Government does not allow it, and the devotee has to content himself

with being held on by means of a cloth passed under his arms. We passed through the temple at the foot of the hill dedicated to Kali, up a flight of stairs, steep and slippery, worn smooth by the feet of countless devotees. There is a shrine on the top of the hill sacred to Narasimha,—half man and half lion. Thence we walked down the hill to a sacred pond some furlongs off, much visited by devotees at certain seasons of the year. All the way on both sides was found a peculiar kind of stone monuments, consisting of two upright stones with one above, which could be diagrammatically represented by the Greek letter  $\pi$ . They were of all sizes, big and little, and seemed to be newly put up. They reminded me of the monuments put up by the Assamese over their dead. I enquired their meaning of a villager. He said that they were erected at a recent festival as offerings by childless devotees, who expected to propitiate the god, who would grant them their wish. More he would not say, but I inferred, after questioning others, that the idea at the back of their minds was that putting up these erections symbolised building temples, which was a meritorious act.

V. K. RAMAN MENON.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### TYPE DREAMS: A REQUEST.

Modern ethnological theories as well as recent advances in psychology explaining the forms which dreams take and the series of changes which memories undergo before appearing in them, indicate the value of records of dreams as they occur among non-Europeans, and especially the more primitive races. Indeed, it seems certain that investigations into the dreams of natives will throw much light on both ethnological and psychological problems. Before going further it may be well to point out that dreams are now regarded as expressions of emotion, or of the clash of emotions, often much disguised, and that it is the figures, images, or symbols used to express the dream thoughts that are of special interest.

I do not now ask for records of the dreams of "natives," though I shall be grateful to receive these. The object of this note is to ask the assistance of folklorists, especially with regard to the distribution of certain "type" dreams, and the meaning attached to such dreams in folk belief.

As an example of the sort of information I seek, I may take the well-known dream of losing a tooth, concerning which I have the following information:

Europe: "death of a close friend." (Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, p. 235; well-known in European folklore.)

Nagas: "an early death in the family." (Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 130.)

"particularly unlucky, and forbodes the certain death either of the dreamer or one of his family." (Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 172.)

Java: Death of an older or younger relative according as tooth is lost from upper or lower jaw.

Japan: Misfortune, but not death (personal information).

Here two kinds of information—both important—are given, viz. (1) the fact that the dream occurs among Europeans, Nagas, Javanese, and Japanese; and (2) the meaning in each case attached to the dream. Dreams such as the tooth-losing dream have so wide a distribution that I think they may properly be called "type" dreams, and what I desire are notes and references on the distribution and meaning of type dreams.

I would ask in the first place for information on the distribution of the following dreams (though any dream with a relatively wide distribution would be equally valuable):—

(a) The tooth-losing dream.

(b) The flying dream. All variants occur among ourselves, from huge leaps taken with only the slightest efforts, to levitation with speed in movement, so that the subject has no difficulty in rising and steering through an open first-floor window. Significance often taken to be sexual, but this is not very clear (as far as I know, wings do not occur), and perhaps the dream generally signifies success or prosperity.

There is an obscure passage in Shakespeare's *The Luskai Kuki Clans* (p. 104), which shows that flying dreams do occur among Nagas, but does not make much else clear; while Smith and Dale record this dream among the Ba-Ila.

(c) Fire dream. I do not know much about fire in dreams, but in fantasy among ourselves it is certainly associated with love, creative energy in its various forms. So it is interesting to have the Naga record (Mills, *op. cit.* p. 172) that it signifies children; a fire burning up well, a big family; and a fire that will not burn, death in the house. Now, do people who in one aspect realise the creative aspect of fire dreams, also ever regard them (individually or collectively) as indicating a hot summer and ruined crops as Hodson (*op. cit.* p. 130) has reported that the Manipur Nagas do?

(d) Dream of climbing a tree or ladder or going up hill. Significance among ourselves is often sexual, but certainly has other connotations, e.g. success. Climbing a tree and going up

hill do occur among Nagas, signifying good luck (Hodson, *op. cit.* p. 130).

(e) Dream of being insufficiently clad.

(f) Dream of seeing fresh, or, in European parlance, "butchers" meat, or even finely cut up cooked meat.

Finally, certain dreams, even if dreamt by one man only, are considered so important that they become omens and may influence the actions of a whole social group. Examples of such dreams, with, if possible, reasons for their importance would be appreciated.

I shall be most grateful for any information, which might be sent to me c/o the Royal Anthropological Institute, 50 Great Russell St., London, W.C. 1. If independent publication is desired, this should be stated. If not, I propose to make use of the information with the usual acknowledgments.

C. G. SELIGMAN.

#### FIDDLER'S CORSE.

I have received the following letter from an old student now teaching in Norfolk, and I should be grateful to any member of the Folk-Lore Society who would supply me with instances of the story told in other localities.<sup>1</sup>

(Miss) H. M. WODEHOUSE.

Department of Education,  
University of Bristol.

I have in this village met an interesting legend for the third time.

In Gloucestershire, in the Forest of Dean, near the small town of Cinderford, is an old ruin locally known as the "Old Grange." Local "grangers" tell how once two brothers, both of whom were "fiddlers," decided to test the truth of the tale that the Old Grange was joined to Flaxley Abbey by an underground passage. The one went down the steps playing, whilst

<sup>1</sup> I was told in Durham, nearly fifty years ago, that from Framwellgate Bridge in that city can be heard at certain times the playing of a fiddler lost in a subterranean passage that once led to Finchale Priory.—A.R.W.

the other with ear bent toward the ground passed slowly along overhead. Passing through a small copse the subterranean fiddling stopped; the fiddler never returned. With alarming solemnity the old man pointed out to me the small wood still known as "Fiddlers' Copse."

In Kent, I passed an afternoon and evening in the village of Ryarsh, nestling some six miles from Maidstone, beneath the North Downs and standing away from the Pilgrims' Road. "What do they call this little spinney?" "That, maister, be Fiddlers' Copse." "What's the tale?" and over liquid encouragement he told the above tale exactly, except that now the fiddler was journeying to Malling Abbey or Leybourne Grange from "The Smugglers' Cave" on the top of the Downs.

In Norfolk, cycling to Wells-on-Sea, one passes through the two little villages of Warham and Warham St. Mary. On the hill between the two is an enclosed coppice, known as "Fiddlers' Copse." "Why?" Exactly the same account, but now the fiddler is walking from Binham Priory to Walsingham Abbey with the same determination to prove whether the passage, which does begin at Binham, ends at Walsingham.

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#### "A SHRIEKING BOG."

IN re-reading the poem of *Lanzelet*, by Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, I have been struck by a topographical description so precise in its details that I am tempted to believe that it reposes upon a genuine local tradition.

The section in question treats of the visit of Arthur and his knights to the castle of the enchanter Malduc. The castle in question is situated on the *Genibelaten Sê* (Misty Lake) surrounded by the *Schrienden Mòs* (the Shrieking Bog). The lake is large. Within it are fish, all of the same length and shortness—"eben-kurz und eben-lang." (This may mean as broad as long.) They are the length of an arm; there are many such in England. From the lake flows a warm stream, of which no beast can drink, however thirsty. Over the lake fly birds; if any man harms them he will not outlive the year.

At certain periods the stream becomes so hot that all living things flee from its vicinity. Then the bog shrieks so loudly that all who have remained near die. This apparently happens only at the solstice :

*drî lagen vor suneghtien  
so schrit das mds, und selten âêr.*

Now, as we are told by the author, the original of the German poem was a French book, brought to Germany by Hugh de Morville, one of the hostages who in 1194 replaced Richard Cœur de Lion in the prison of Leopold of Austria. From its frequent references to England there can be little doubt that the poem was composed in these islands. There is a persistent tradition connecting the story of Lancelot with the name of Walter Map; that Map had anything to do with the composition of the great prose *Lancelot* is most improbable, but it is quite within the bounds of possibility that he was the author of this early *Book of Lancelot*. We know from the *Nugis Curialium* that Map was an amateur of local traditions, and it seems to me not impossible that he may here have been dealing with something of the kind. Has any member of the Folk-Lore Society ever come across the tradition of such a Shrieking Bog?

JESSIE L. WESTON.

#### CARRYING THE DEAD THROUGH A BOG.

IN this parish of Llanddewi Brefi, Cardiganshire, there is a well-known bog on the mountain about five miles away from the village in the direction of Carmarthenshire. When a death took place among the people living on the mountain, the funeral procession formerly used to pass through the bog instead of keeping to the road alongside. The bier had to be carried by the nearest relatives, and the distance was about half a mile or more. About 1810 a young man was excommunicated as a member of a small Methodist chapel called Zoar, for refusing to take part in the ceremony. The custom came to an end about 1820 or soon after.

Has a similar custom been observed elsewhere in Great Britain?

(*The late*) J. CEREDIG DAVIES.

## PRENTICE PILLARS.

(Vol. xxxi., p. 323; vol. xxix., p. 219.)

THE following additional example of a spirit obtained by sacrifice comes from Italy—the upper valley of the Tiber. By a kind of crime one can compel a soul (*anima*) to stand on guard over a treasure for an indefinite time. This crime consists in killing someone and burying him near the hidden treasure, pronouncing against the soul of the murdered one the sentence: "Thou shalt not stir hence until thou hast done such-and-such a thing," and here the author of the crime must specify verbally a deed difficult to accomplish, thereby securing that the soul of the deceased shall remain "confined" to that spot until the specified act has taken place. It is said that in the valley of the Nestore, a tributary of the Tiber, a thief, wishing to secure some valuables he had stolen, killed a poor wayfarer and buried him near them in a wood, saying he was to stay there until some one came alone and ate a plate of *maccheroni* over him. A *contadino* who chanced to have climbed into a neighbouring tree overheard this direction, fetched some *maccheroni* at once, and ate it over the stolen property, which he was enabled to appropriate without difficulty.<sup>1</sup>

H. A. ROSE.

## FOLKTALES FROM THE NAGA HILLS OF ASSAM.

I WRITE to point out that in the September number of *Folk-Lore*, which I have just received, the *Folktales from the Naga Hills of Assam*, printed as *Collectanea* (pp. 233-5), have by an error been attributed to me instead of to Mr. C. R. Pawsey, the member of the Society who actually contributed them. See my note in vol. xxxiii., p. 397.

J. H. HUTTON.

<sup>1</sup> "Le credenze religiose delle popolazioni rurali dell' alte valle del Teveri," by G. Nicasi in *Lavori*, vol. I. (1912) p. 169.

## IN MEMORIAM: WILLIAM CROOKE (1848-1923).

WE have to record, with deep regret and a sense of irreparable loss, the death of our Editor and a Vice-President of our Society. Born in 1848 of an English family long settled in Ireland, he was the eldest son of Warren Crooke, M.D., of Macroom, Co. Cork. Of his two brothers one, Sir Warren Crooke-Lawless, C.B., C.B.E., followed his father's profession and entered the R.A.M.C., becoming surgeon to Lord Minto when Viceroy of India, and subsequently Governor of the Convalescent Home for Officers at Osborne in the Isle of Wight. Educated at Tipperary Grammar School, William Crooke won a scholarship at Trinity College, Dublin, and in 1871 competed successfully for the Indian Civil Service. His service was wholly spent in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, where as Magistrate and Collector he held charge of the districts of Etah, Sahāranpur, Gorakhpur, and Mirzapur, the last-named a tract where his sympathy with the people made him an ideal District Officer. Among its primitive and unsophisticated people he found abundant material for his researches in the older civilisation of remoter India; and in its forest-covered hills he had ample opportunity for his skill as a sportsman, many tigers falling to his rifle, achievements which further endeared him to the people. Every effort, it might be imagined, would have been made by the Provincial Government to retain an officer of Crooke's not too common stamp in the service, but he had been too outspoken a critic of the mechanically efficient "Secretariat" system, the evil results of which have been so conspicuous of recent years in India, and he was allowed to retire, after only 25 years service, in 1895.

In spite of his steady devotion to his official duties, Crooke had found time, as so many heavily-worked men do find time, to write much on the people of India, their religions, beliefs, customs, and mentality. As far back as 1882 he was contributing to the *Indian Antiquary*, and in fact was asked to become

an assistant editor of that periodical. In 1890, however, he took up the editorship of *North Indian Notes and Queries*, and that storehouse of raw material for the advancement of Indian learning was conducted and partly financed by him until, owing to the prevailing apathy and utter lack of official support, its publication had to be discontinued on his retirement.

To most men disappointments bring discouragement, but Crooke never lost heart, and on settling down in England he set to work on a book, *Homeric Folk-Lore*, which failed to find a publisher. Nothing daunted, he recast some of his material into delightful papers for this journal, especially *The Wooing of Penelope* (1898) and *Some Notes on Homeric Folk-Lore* (1908), but his MS. is even so a still unexhausted mine. In 1910 Crooke was President of the Anthropological Section of the British Association, and in 1911-12 he was President of our Society, becoming Editor of *Folk-Lore* in 1915, and continuing to be so till his unexpected and untimely death on the 25th of October, 1923, at a nursing home in Cheltenham. During the past summer he had visited Jersey, and his interest in research was still as keen as when in 1893 the present writer was first encouraged by him to try and do something to place on record the myriad beliefs and thoughts of the Punjab people. To all appearance he had years of intellectual activity yet before him, but after a successful operation his seventy-five strenuous years told even on his vigorous constitution, and he sank painlessly.

As was natural Crooke's principal work was done in the field of India. While still serving there he had compiled a valuable *Rural and Agricultural Glossary*, and completed, for Government, his comprehensive *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western (now the United) Provinces*, a work which was to have been revised in the light of the Ethnographic Survey of India inaugurated by Lord Curzon in 1903, but which is not very likely to be improved in that process. He had also published the first edition of his *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, subsequently enlarged in a second edition printed in England, and left rewritten for a third edition at the time of his death. These were followed by *Things Indian*, an excellent book for the general reader as well as for the denizen at work



in India. In the following year, 1907, Crooke contributed *Northern India* to the *Native Races of the British Empire* series. But his studies had not been by any means confined to India. Besides keeping up his classical knowledge he had been able to read, and read closely, a vast amount of literature on the East generally, and the fruits of this were seen in his edition of Yule's *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, and in his Fryer's *New Account of East India and Persia*, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1909 onwards. In 1912 he was entrusted with the task of preparing the memorial edition of the late Sir Herbert Risley's *The People of India*, to which he prefixed a valuable Introduction and added useful notes. In addition he re-edited Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali's *Observations on the Mussulmans of India* in 1916, Tod's *Annals of Rājasthān* in 1920, and re-wrote Herklot's *Qanun-i-Islam (Islam in India)* in 1922. At the time of his death he left a new edition of Ball's translation of Tavernier's *Travels in India*, now passing through the Clarendon Press. His contributions to Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* were not only numerous but distinguished by a ripe and accurate scholarship.

In the domain of folklore Crooke was essentially a specialist, with a peculiarly wide outlook. With Mr. H. D. Rouse he collaborated in writing *The Talking Thrush*, and only recently contributed an illuminating note to Sir George Grierson's edition of Sir Aurel Stein's *Ĥatim's Tales*, stories of Kashmir. For some time before his death he had been at work on the *Katha Sagara Kosa*, translated by Tawney. But some of his best work appeared in our journal, notably his Presidential Addresses (1912 and 1913), *The Legends of Krishna* (1900), *The Holi* (1914), and *The Divalī* (in the present number).

To the Royal Anthropological Institute's *Journal* he also contributed *Primitive Rites of Disposal of the Dead, with Special Reference to India*, and other papers of ethnological interest. A complete list of his contributions to the *Indian Antiquary* is given in Miss L. M. Anstey's Index Vol. A classified list of his papers is under preparation.

Crooke was also a keen archaeologist and a member of the Cotswold Field Club and the Bristol and Gloucestershire

Archaeological Society. To the latter's *Proceedings* he contributed *The Rudra Stone Monuments of India*. The Bihar and Orissa Research Society made him an honorary member, and he also wrote for its *Journal*. If his honours came to him late in life they were more than well earned. In 1919 he was awarded the C.I.E., and his honorary D.Sc. at Oxford, followed in 1920 by his Dublin Litt.D. He was elected a Fellow by the British Academy in 1923. Married in 1884 to Alice, daughter of Lt.-Col. George Carr of the Madras Native Infantry, (who survives him), he had five sons, of whom two are living. His third son, Elliott H., a scholar of B.N.C., Oxford, became a captain in the Gloucester Regiment during the War, and fell at La Boisselle in 1916. Soon after, his fourth son, Hugh N. Crooke, Lieut. R.E., was killed in its vicinity. His second son, Mr. Roland Crooke, served in the Dardanelles; a scholar of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, he passed into the Home Civil Service in 1912, and is now in the Ministry of Health. His fifth son, Richard, still at Cheltenham College, has since his father's death met with a most serious accident.

William Crooke was one of those accomplished servants of the Crown in India and for India of whom little can be known to the British public. Yet it has every reason to be proud of him, his work, and his influence. The Indian of the United Provinces may forget his name, but what he stood for will never be forgotten. Crooke did not seek self-advancement. He gave freely of his energies and abilities and of his means to the best interests of India. He made culpable ignorance of the Indian peoples no longer pardonable. Singularly staunch and loyal as a friend, he never wavered in his allegiance to the people under his charge, and the good he wrought will some day and in some manner bear fruit.

H. A. ROSS.

## IN MEMORIAM: H. F. FEILBERG (1831-1921).

DR. H. F. FEILBERG, who died in his ninety first year, on the 8th of October, 1921, was a member of the Folk-Lore Society from 1890 until his death, and an occasional contributor to *Folk-Lore*. He became known in England by the publication in 1893 of the first volume of his dictionary of the Jutland dialects, which are of interest and importance on account of their close affinity with the dialects on the opposite English coast. It was something more than a mere dictionary, for in his treatment of leading words Feilberg used his intimate familiarity with peasant life and ways in south Jutland to throw light on the folklore embedded in the words and phrases, and he did this more and more as the work progressed. When the work was completed he devoted himself almost entirely to folklore studies.

His life was not without its severe trials, and his health was never robust. His first pastorates (1856-1864) were in the corner of Slesvig called Angel, which has given its name to our own country. But the coming of the Prussians drove him out of house and home, and it was five years before he again found full clerical employment, first in one and then in another county parish in south Jutland, neither of them affording the comforts of life.

Failing health led him to resign his pastorate, and he settled near the People's High School of Askov, midway between Esbjerg and the Little Belt, and just north of what before the war was the border between Denmark and Germany. Askov was the first in time, and is the first in importance, of the seventy to seventy-five residential colleges forming what is sometimes called the People's University, where men and women of every class and every age above eighteen may, at a moderate expense, lead for five or six months together a common life, receiving instruction of a cultural rather than of a technical kind, and approaching and often reaching a university standard. Within the

precincts of this school, and not far from the two parishes he had served for twenty-three years, Feilberg built himself a modest house out of the profits of a small book he had written on *The Moorland and its Inhabitants*. He there wrote in his neat handwriting some hundreds of thousands of slips for his dictionary, of which the first sheet was printed in 1886, and the fourth and final volume issued in 1914. He also wrote works on peasant life and on Christmas usages, with numerous monographs and articles on kindred subjects, all duly chronicled in Part 3 of *Dansk Udeyn*, 1921. It might be thought that for his work he should have preferred a home within reach of the great libraries of the capital, instead of a country village, a day's journey away. But to Askov flocked students from every corner of Denmark, and from Iceland, the Faeroes, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the United States, and with practised ease and skill Feilberg elicited from them additions to his wide knowledge of dialects and folklore. Instead of visiting places which could yield him the knowledge he sought, it almost seemed as if the places came to him in the form of persons able and willing to render the help he wanted.

All his books and manuscript collections were left to the *Dansk Folkemindesamling* (Danish National Collection of Folklore), a public institution which is connected with the Royal Library and which Dr. Axel Olrik, another member of the Folk-Lore Society recently dead, helped him to found a number of years ago.

His life work is an example of what may be effected, under all manner of exterior difficulties, by single-handed, unhesitating, and unrelenting application. "We learn many things in life," he once said, "the last thing we learn is to go *gently*."

J. S. THORNTON.

## REVIEWS.

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By T. M. WILLIAMS.  
New York: A. A. Knopf, 1922. \$5.00 net.

THIS is a study of the psychological grounds of the conflict manifested in the social and economic life of to-day. The treatment is untechnical and even popular in tone, but a genuine attempt is made to maintain the disinterested outlook of science. On the whole the shortcomings of the present system are emphasised, the fuller development of personality in each and all being envisaged as the ideal of a new and better order. While nothing but praise is to be awarded to the author for the thorough way in which he carries out his chosen task, it should be pointed out here that there is very little said in this book concerning those topics which are of special interest to the student of folklore. Indeed, the kind of social tradition that is familiar to the folklorist hardly exists in the United States, where the organization is largely the product of an industrialism inspired by the profit-seeking motive. New custom of the old-world type depends for its influence on the suggestibility of simple souls, more especially as this responds to crude, concrete symbols hallowed by rich associations. Modern society, then, and in particular America, can hardly revert, even if it so wished, to this mode of bringing about communion. As the author sees, the rational, that is, non-suggestible, temper is characteristic of the civilized man. Even so, individualism is not to be confused with individuality; and it may well be that to mitigate the one is the true method of furthering the other.

R. R. MARETT.

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DANMARKS TRYLLEFORMLER. Ved F. OHRT. Vol. I. Indledning og Text. Copenhagen & Christiania: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1917. Pp. 516.

A SECOND title-page describes this work as "The Magic Formulæ of Denmark, with a summary in English," and states that it forms No. 3 in the Northern Series of the Folklore Fellows Publications. It is fortunate that so careful and complete a collection of the charms and similar formulæ has been undertaken by a Danish folklorist, as Denmark offers a remarkably rich field for such work, in respect both of the past and the present. There can be few countries in which the regular use of charms has been so consciously retained down to quite recent times, the formulæ being preserved not merely in oral tradition, but in written collections owned and employed by professional 'wise' men and women. In consequence of this, the present collection rests to a great extent on material written down for practical purposes, as well as on that accumulated by the various collectors of Danish folklore. How extensive the material as a whole is, may be inferred from the following particulars as to 'Sources,' the account of which occupies pp. 59-130 of the Introduction to the volume. Section A, which comprises manuscript sources down to 1750 and printed sources down to 1800, contains 45 numbers: the earliest of these (outside of some doubtful runic inscriptions) are manuscripts of c. 1350 and c. 1450 respectively. Section B, comprising manuscripts later than 1750, contains 47 entries; a number of these are copies of the most famous book on the black art, known as *Cyprianus*, *Sybrianus*, etc. Section C enumerates briefly the chief contributions made to Danish folklore during the nineteenth century; among these a prominent place is naturally assigned to the printed and unprinted collections of Evald Tang Kristensen, of which an account may be found in *Folk-Lore*.<sup>1</sup>

With this mass of material, extending over nearly six centuries, the editor has dealt in a most scholarly fashion, both as regards the grouping of the formulæ and the exact reproduction of the recorded texts. It is to be hoped that future works of the same

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ix. pp. 194 *et seq.*

nature will be arranged as far as possible on similar lines, so that comparison of what is present, and recognition of what is absent, may be quite a simple task. This is made quite an easy matter for those unacquainted with Danish by the English summary at the end of the volume, where the table of contents on pp. 514-518 shows at once the general principles of the arrangement. There are nine main divisions: I. Illness, II. Nature, III. Noxious Animals, IV. Work, V. Warfare, VI. Enmity and Affection, VII. Gain, VIII. Thieves, IX. Witchcraft and Evil Spirits. Each of these is subdivided so far as necessary; in I. there are no less than 24 subdivisions for various diseases, and in extent this division exceeds all the others put together. Consultation of the work is also rendered very easy by the index, which contains an English rendering of everything that is important in the Danish text.

While the editor suggests that his second volume, containing a critical study of the charms and a comparison with those of other countries, is not likely to appear for some years, those who occupy themselves with this branch of folklore will find the raw material itself of great interest and value. The older formulæ, from manuscripts of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, are especially valuable for their age and fulness. Some of these are in Danish, others in Latin. Thus there are more or less elaborate Danish formulæ (sometimes combined with instructions for medical treatment) for the prevention or cure of pest, dropsy, fever, shingles, gout, worms, etc., and others in Latin for stanching blood, for diseases in general, and for the eyes; the latter are particularly numerous and full. The editor notes that very few of these older formulæ are represented in the later collections, which as a rule contain briefer and more popular matter. The later written collections (*Cyprianus*, etc.), apart from errors due to illiteracy or provincialism, are usually written in standard Danish, and consequently present few difficulties to the student; formulæ in pure dialect are due to conscientious modern collectors and are not obtrusively numerous. In some manuscripts various tricks have been employed by the writers to render it difficult for the uninitiated to make use of the hidden lore.

To select for special mention any of the eleven hundred items contained in this valuable work would be to anticipate the investigations promised in the second volume. It may be confidently expected that this will form a most important contribution to the comparative study of the subject, as Mr. Ohrt clearly possesses the necessary interest in the materials themselves, and has already given attention to their historical development so far as this can be traced in Denmark itself. The results of this part of the enquiry are set forth in the second part of his Introduction (pp. 16-58), which traces the changing views on the subject of witchcraft and related practices from the Reformation down to the present time.

W. A. CRAIGIE.

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JOHANNES PAULI, SCHIMPF UND ERNST, herausgegeben von JOHANNES BOLTE. Erster Teil. Berlin: Herbert Stubenrauch Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1924. Pp. 30+418.

IN 1522 Johannes Pauli, a member of the Franciscan Order, published his *Exempla* and *Apologues*, the first collection of this kind to appear in the vernacular. He called it *Schimpf und Ernst*, i.e. *Jocoseria*, for, besides a large number of exempla used as a rule in sermons, it also contained a number of jests which were widely circulating, and were now brought together side by side with the more serious tales. Pauli forms the bridge between the mediæval and modern collections of similar tales; and these exercised a very deep influence upon popular literature which has lasted to this very day, because he was among the first to bring that literature to the knowledge of the people in the vernacular.

His sources were, to a certain extent, the sermons of Thomas Cantipratensis (Canterbury) and the homilies of Geiler and Murner, whilst he did not reject the collection of tales known as *Til Eulenspiegel*.

Oesterley, well known for his edition of the *Gesta Romanorum*, published in Stuttgart in 1866 an edition to which he added the rich harvest of parallels drawn from his vast know-



ledge of that literature. That edition has been long out of print and is now being superseded by a sumptuous one undertaken under no less an authority than Professor Johannes Bolte. It is sufficient to refer to the three octavo volumes so far published of his annotations to the tales of Grimm, to justify the highest anticipation in respect to this publication, for we are promised in the second volume, which should appear early in the spring, the first having just now left the press, not only a reproduction of the literary references gathered by Oesterley, but, judging from past experience, additions which will entirely eclipse even the excellent work done by the former. It is sure to be one of the most important contributions to the study of popular literature, and of the manner in which these tales and exempla found their way among the people in the centuries which followed its first publication. All interested in these studies will look forward with eager expectation to the appearance of the second volume. It may be added that the typographical production is excellent, the more creditable considering the times and circumstances in which this great work is seeing the light of day.

M. GASTER.

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THE HISTORY OF THE YORUBAS FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BEGINNING OF THE BRITISH PROTECTORATE. By REV. SAMUEL JOHNSON, Ed. by Dr. O. JOHNSON. George Routledge & Sons, 1921. 8vo. Pp. 684.

THE Yorubas are a group of inland tribes, who moved many generations since west of the River Niger, and settled over a wide extent of country between that river and Dahomey, being finally driven by Mohammedan aggression to move down to the sea about the beginning of the last century. They were introduced, as a whole, to the English reader by the late Col. A. B. Ellis in his work *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, 1894. After the publication of Col. Ellis's book the late Rev. Samuel Johnson, a native Yoruba, but a clergyman of the Church of England attached to the Church Missionary

Society, undertook to write their history, from the patriotic motive of making the new generation of Yorubas acquainted with the history of their country and people. The manuscript, however, the result of twenty years of labour, was lost in transmission to England for publication in 1899, and the author soon afterwards died. His brother, who modestly calls himself the editor, had been associated in collaboration with him. Coming to this country afterwards, he made all possible enquiries for the original MS., but failed to discover its whereabouts. He therefore undertook to re-write it from copious notes and rough copies left behind by the original author. Thus rewritten it was despatched to England by the *Appam* from Lagos on the 2nd Jan., 1916. But its adventures had by no means ended. The *Appam* was captured by the German raider *Moewe*, and, as it turned out later, was taken to America. When the United States came into the war, however, the rewritten MS. was found and forwarded to the printers, after having disappeared for two years. By that time the difficulties of printing had become so great that nothing could be done until the end of the war. The editor, however, persevered; and it is now at length, having passed through these remarkable revolutions of fortune, given to the public.

The earlier part of the history is, of course, traditional and mythical, as are those of all nations who trace their beginning from prehistoric ages. These traditions are committed to memory and retailed from time to time by the king's bards, an office hereditary in certain families at Oyo, the capital. What kernel of fact there may be in them has not yet been determined. Mohammedan influence has undoubtedly deformed them, and they appear in more than one form. All the Yoruba tribes trace their lineage to a king named Oduduwa. On this monarch's death his property was divided, we are told, among his children; but for Oranyan, his grandchild, there was little left. According to one tradition the whole earth was covered with water, and Oranyan had only a rag containing earth, some pieces of iron, and a cock. By means of these he formed the land, and the story thus traces the history of the Yoruba people from the creation very much as the history of Uganda does. In

other words, the mythical history goes back to the creation. The story then relates the origin of the various tribes or divisions of the Yoruba nation, and carries on the narrative right down to modern times. Whatever facts may be behind the traditions cannot be even approximately ascertained without a much more drastic criticism than the author has been disposed to give. It is not enough to accept the tales for the most part at their face value, merely rationalizing those which are obviously beyond belief. But to the student of folklore it is a distinct gain to have the narrative given by an enlightened and, to some extent, emancipated native, who is yet sympathetic with the old patriotic story. An outline is given of the religion, supplementing that from the hand of Col. Ellis. In addition to the usual otiose Supreme Being of the African races and to certain nature-divinities and personifications (as of *Sopona*, the smallpox), the Yorubas are addicted to the cult of the dead, of which the mysteries of *Egugun*, a secret organization, are the most powerful form. These mysteries are, indeed, a national institution, and its periodical festivities enable it to exert great political and social influence. A chapter is given to manners and customs, beside the incidental illustrations which the narrative frequently affords.

The social institutions of the Yorubas are patrilineal, as might naturally be expected from their close contact with Mohammedans, though it may admit of doubt whether as an historical fact they owe their origin to this contact. The father is supreme in the family, and every chief and wealthy man keeps a harem. Marriage is preceded by negotiation. Gifts (not called bride-price) are presented by the bridegroom, and are divided among the bride's family. The marriage ceremonies are elaborate, and include the offering of sacrifices. They are begun by a formal betrothal, from the celebration of which to the actual marriage there is a strict taboo between the bride and bridegroom. The bride is conducted to her husband's house, and met at the gate by female relatives of the bridegroom. There her feet are ceremonially washed, and she is lifted over the threshold. As usual in patrilineal societies, she is required to be a virgin. A woman can be married but once. Neither divorce nor the

death of her husband releases her. When the latter event takes place, she falls to one of the surviving kinsmen of the deceased. If she refuse him, she may be united to some other man of her choice, but the marriage ceremony is never gone through again. Divorced women cannot be married again by a legitimate marriage.

There is much of interest in the account of the customs of the people. One such matter of interest is the *Iwofa* system by which security for money lent is provided. An *Iwofa* is one who gives a recurrent sixth day service in payment of the interest on money lent. Both men and women give this service; but if the lender or master tamper with a woman so employed the debt is *ipso facto* discharged, and heavy fines are inflicted on him beside. For the *Iwofa* debtor is not a slave. He has not lost his independence or his political rights. A betrothed girl becoming marriageable during this service may be married on the betrothed husband's paying back the principal and taking her away. A parent who has no debt to pay will frequently put his child into *Iwofa* service to train him into habits of discipline and industry, accepting for this purpose a loan and paying it back when he thinks the child has been sufficiently trained. The dead are buried, not in cemeteries, but in the house; and an interesting ceremony is the final one in which a member of the Egugun society who personates the deceased goes to the house, embraces and blesses the children, and bids a final farewell to the family. Infants are not buried, but thrown away into the bush or lightly covered with earth and left to the jackals.

The mythical traditions slide gradually into a more or less trustworthy narrative of Yoruba history—probably rather less than more. In any case, it is a revolting tale of bloodshed, intrigue, and treachery. The Yoruba kingdom was gradually broken up by rebellions and by raids by the Dahomans, Mohammedan invaders and other foes, until a British protectorate was established and the *pax Britannica* was enforced over the whole country. Treaties were at length made with the various tribes and sections, and the nation was drawn within the British system. The story is perhaps sometimes tedious, but it illus-

trates the chaos of conflicting interests involved in the break-up of an African kingdom, from which there is no way out but the establishment of an overlordship by a civilized European power which can abolish the petty native tyrannies, put an end to the horrors of human sacrifice, and show the way to a real civilization. An account of the Yoruba language and a sketch of the grammar are prefixed. Written by a native Yoruban, the English on the whole is decidedly creditable. A sympathetic reader will easily pardon minor blemishes for the sake of the truly interesting picture which it presents of the people and their struggle out of the depth of barbarism.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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SPECIMENS OF BANTU FOLK-LORE FROM NORTHERN RHODESIA.

By J. TORREND, S.J. Pp. 187. 10s. 6d. net.

UNDER this title Father Torrend publishes the text and translation of a number of folktales collected among the Bène-Mukuni and the Batonga on the north and south respectively of the Kafue River, one of the tributaries of the Zambesi, and the songs or catches which they enclose. The texts will be found useful for students of the Bantu dialects. The tales are mostly versions of well-known stories. They are none the less useful to investigators of the folklore, inasmuch as they are given exactly in the native form and embody many native customs. Prominent among them are versions of the tale known elsewhere as *The Singing Bone*—the tale which among the Greeks related the discovery of Midas' secret confided to a hole in the earth and repeated by the reeds. The notes which Father Torrend has supplied, elucidating points of native custom and other allusions, add to the value of the collection, plain though it be that the folklore of these peoples is subordinate in his interest to their linguistics, for the study of which the collection seems to have been made. To a missionary this may be natural; but I cannot help thinking that it is a superficial view to take, seeing that it is as necessary to a missionary's success that he should understand the traditions, customs, institutions, and ways of

thinking of a people as that he should know their speech. Indeed, the speech of a people cannot be known so as to be effectively used by one who is not conversant with these things, so intimately interwoven are they. For illustrations one need not go beyond the covers of this volume.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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ARAB MEDICINE AND SURGERY: A STUDY OF THE HEALING ART IN ALGERIA. By M. W. HILTON-SIMPSON, B.Sc. Ill. Oxford Univ. Press, 1922. Pp. 96.

IN three winters spent in the Aures Mountains of Algeria Mr. Hilton-Simpson has sought not only to make a general survey of the life of the Shawiya Berbers in the almost inaccessible valleys of the *massif*, and to collect specimens of handicrafts for the Pitt-Rivers Museum, but also to make a special study of the ancient medicine and surgery still in use. His earlier work, *Among the Hill-Folk of Algeria* (1921), contains twenty pages (cap. ix) on the healing art, and his present brochure gives a fuller account of the material collected. He found that most native doctors possess Arabic text-books, generally the works of early Arab authors and some in manuscript, but the doctors rely chiefly on the practical instruction given to them by their predecessors. He suggests that, while some of the rude surgery may derive from an immemorial past, the conversion of the Shawiya to the faith of Islam, and the consequent pilgrimages to Mecca, may have introduced amongst them mediaeval Arab medicine and some surgery, which have been handed down by oral tradition and are concealed very carefully from the French overlords of to-day. Caution, the insertion of setons, cupping, and frequent trepanning without the use of either anæsthetics or antiseptics, are still carried out by the native doctor, the scars from whose operations are often observed by officials who are kept in complete ignorance of the identity of the operator. European instruments, such as scissors and syringes, and European drugs are now being introduced by native prac-

titioners, and it is fortunate for science that the present author has made this record of an ancient art that cannot endure much longer in face of the knowledge spread by the numerous men who have returned from distant service in the Great War.

The technical side of these investigations, and the surgery of which details fill almost three-quarters of the volume, are of interest to folklorists mainly as a study in persistence of survivals. We are told that the numerous sorcerers and writers of amulets against the *jensoon* or demons, who are believed to cause most diseases and mischances, are quite distinct from the medical practitioners, who usually follow both branches of their profession, and have served an apprenticeship—almost invariably to a relative. The doctors allege that trepanning is *not* performed as a magical cure for demon possession. There is a detailed account of circumcision (pp. 60-2), and the magical number seven is occasionally met with in both surgery and medicine. In the latter all members of the vegetable kingdom are believed to have their virtues, if these were only known, and most of the numerous remedies listed here contain plants, seeds, or fruits, with the frequent addition of honey or butter.

The medical magic collected by Mr. Hilton-Simpson and already set out in *Folk-Lore*<sup>1</sup> is not repeated in the present book, but there are a few additional notes. The *dirty wool* insisted upon for various Algerian magical observances is employed by the Shawiya in surgery and in applying ointments. Earache and inflamed eyes are treated by applying a viper's skin boiled in olive oil, or by an extract of beet leaves introduced by the gall bladder of a jackal; as the *jensoon* dislike strong tastes and smells, and dangerous animals, these remedies may be in part magical. The lotion from boiling the viper's skin in olive oil is also a cure for baldness. These examples will show that, although the notes were not intended primarily for folklorists, yet they will find the volume one of surprising interest and owe a debt of gratitude for it to Mr. Hilton-Simpson.

A. R. WRIGHT.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xxvi. pp. 245-54; see also *J. R. A. I.*, vol. xliii. pp. 712.

THE CHILDREN OF THE SUN: A STUDY IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION. By W. J. PERRY, M.A. Methuen & Co. 1923, 16 maps. Pp. xvi, 551. 18s. net.

THE ORIGIN OF MAGIC AND RELIGION. By W. J. PERRY, M.A. Methuen & Co., 1923. Pp. viii, 212. 6s. net.

IN *The Children of the Sun*, Mr. Perry has laid before his readers a compendious account of the evidence upon which he bases his theory of the origin and growth of culture in the area extending from Egypt through Mesopotamia, India, Indonesia and Oceania to America, and over a period which stretches from the earliest beginnings in the Nile Valley to the communities of the primitive or less advanced races of to-day. If it were necessary or even desirable to attempt to single out from his closely-knit argument that part which might be regarded as the cardinal point upon which his conclusions hinge, choice would probably fall upon his view of the degradation of culture. For it is upon this that he relies in meeting implicitly the criticisms which have been or may be brought against the theory of the diffusion of culture in this area from one common centre of origin; and by it he explains the differences between the culture of the present inhabitants in areas where traces of a former high civilization are found, sometimes in close juxtaposition with peoples who have not yet attained to the stage of agriculture and the domestication of animals.

Mr. Perry's method is historical. By an analysis of the various types of civilization found in the area in question, he establishes culture sequences. He finds a residuum, common to the whole, in the culture of a food-producing, as opposed to a food-gathering, people, characterized by, among other things, the use of stone for monuments, buildings, and images, agriculture by irrigation, pottery making, and metal working. This culture he terms the "archaic civilization," and holds that, originating in Egypt, it was spread thence by the "Children of the Sun," that is, the race or group who became supreme in Egypt at about the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, when under the influence of Heliopolis the royal power passed from the Horus-king, who was associated with a mother-goddess, to



a king who was a Son of the Sun and the representative of the sun cult. Mr. Perry supports this view by a detailed examination of the culture of areas forming cultural units, such as North America, Oceania, Indonesia, India, and the like. He accounts for their aberrations from the basic archaic civilization by a degradation of culture such as was suggested by Dr. Rivers in his theory of the disappearance of useful arts. Mr. Perry holds that this degradation arose in various ways. On the one hand the colonies of the archaic civilization—some of them important centres of civilization, and others mere settlements for the exploitation of gold, pearls, and other precious substances, the "life givers" which had caused their migration—sent out further offshoots, diverging from the type, the degradation being progressive. On the other hand the dying out of the Children of the Sun, their departure to other fields, or their supersession by war chiefs with war gods also gave rise to divergencies and modifications, both in material culture and in social and religious organization.

So far Mr. Perry's argument deals mainly with material culture; but he also takes into account the character of religious and social institutions. In this connection we may turn to a publication by Mr. Perry later than the *Children of the Sun*. In the *Origin of Magic and Religion*, which is addressed both to the general reader and the specialist, he deals in a more general way with the ideas and conceptions which emerge in the course of his detailed examination of the evidence in the larger book. In regard to magic and its influence in the diffusion of culture, he adopts the views with which Professor Elliot Smith has made us familiar, that in the cowry shell we have an early magic symbol, going back to palaeolithic times, when it was associated with the cult of a mother-goddess and the use of red paint symbolizing blood. By a process of association and substitution, the shell amulet gave rise to the belief in the magical efficacy of gold, pearls, and other "life givers," out of which grew the conception of their intrinsic value. Mr. Perry's view of the part played by these magical substances in the diffusion of culture are well known. On this foundation he builds up his theory step by step, showing how the worship of

the mother-goddess gave place to the worship of the sun, as the early type of kings associated with Horus gave way to the king who was a Son of the Sun, and the Sons of the Sun in turn gave way to war gods and war chiefs. It is not possible here to follow all the threads of Mr. Perry's argument in dealing with the growth of the doctrine of immortality, dual organization, totemism and exogamy, and other features of primitive belief and organization which he traces back to Egypt; nor can we do more than refer here to the skilful use he makes of the theory of degradation of culture to explain certain features, such as, for instance, the existence of a culture hero or the survival of agricultural rites in a community where other features of archaic civilization are not to be found. Mr. Perry is more than thorough, and there are few problems of anthropology upon which he does not touch or attempt to solve.

Mr. Perry's argument in both books is closely reasoned, and its most striking feature is the logical consistency with which so wide a field and such a mass of evidence is surveyed. The theory of the diffusion of culture in the form in which it has been put forward by Professor Elliot Smith has gained many adherents. It has been criticized on the ground that it depends upon random superficial resemblances. Mr. Perry has produced an exposition of that theory which depends neither upon chance resemblances nor random instances, but is based upon a method which has been proved in the field of archaeology. It is permissible here to venture a question. Will that method prove equally sound when its application is not *in pari materia*? The basic conditions of archaeological evidence are rigid—accurate and accurately recorded observation of patent material facts of stratification. Does the material which Mr. Perry accepts as evidence stand upon an equally sound basis? Accurate observation in ethnography, in virtue of its subject-matter, is notoriously elusive. One may venture to say that the theory of the diffusion of culture will stand or fall primarily, not so much by the acceptance or rejection of its larger hypotheses, as by the examination by specialists of the details of evidence and the inferences drawn therefrom in each cultural area to which the theory is applied. In the meantime it must

be agreed that Mr. Perry's two books are a most valuable contribution to the discussion of the subject, and will have a marked effect on the method and direction of ethnographical studies in the future.

E. N. FALLAIZE.

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STUDIES IN RELIGION, FOLK-LORE, AND CUSTOM IN BRITISH NORTH BORNEO AND THE MALAY PENINSULA. By IVOR H. N. EVANS, M.A. Cambridge University Press, 1923. Pp. vii + 296. 20s. n.

THIS is a useful collection of papers, some of which have already appeared in periodicals, but are now modified and expanded, on Customs and Beliefs, largely illustrated from folktales, in two very distinct areas. In North Borneo the writer, a member of the staff of the Federated Malay States Museums, has been stationed in the two adjoining districts of Tuaran and Tempassuk, but he has not been able to visit the hinterland of the coast between the mouth of the Tuaran River and Jesselton, or even the upland villages of the Tuaran Valley, though he has met many of the inhabitants of the latter tract. Tempassuk is peopled by the aboriginal Dusuns or Orang Dusuns, 'men of the orchards,' who are pagans, and by the Bajaus and Illanuns, both Mohammedans, who occupy nearly all the coastal and and estuarine lowlands. The Bajaus are probably Malays, and on the east coast are still sea-nomads. The Illanuns are a piratical tribe from the Philippines, and are not found in Tuaran. The date of their conversion to Islam is not stated, but the few folktales told by Bajau display no traces of Mohammedan influence, and only one (p. 86) professes to explain how they came to Tempassuk. The object they had in view was trade in beeswax.

The Dusuns are often said to have a large admixture of Chinese blood, but Mr. Evans thinks it is not modern Chinese but Mongolian. However this may be, they have a curious cult of sacred jars, most, if not all, of Chinese origin, which are tenanted by indwelling spirits, these having to be propitiated

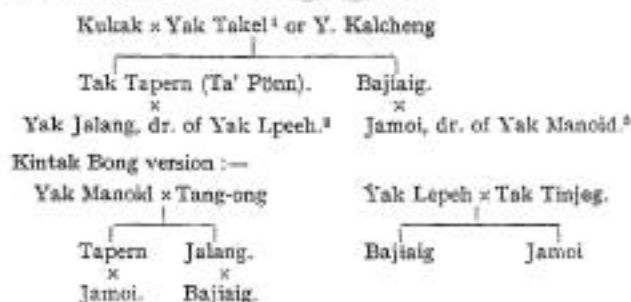
by sacrifices lest they become evilly disposed, though when placated they may be actually beneficent, whereas all other spirits are at best only neutral. But with a religion that is largely animistic the Dusuns believe in a Creator, Kinharangan, and his wife, Munsumunduk, whose progeny met with varying fortunes. Their eldest child, a girl in the Tuaran version, was cut to pieces and planted in bits in the earth to produce food-plants. The Tempassuk legend makes this offering their first-born, but its sex is not recorded. But by general consent Kinharangan had a son as well as a daughter, and Towardakan, for such was his name, is hostile to good harvests. His father had made all men equal, but Towardakan caused some to be rich and others poor, and good crops would do much to restore their original equality. A distinctive feature of the Dusun faith is the prominent part played in it by priestesses, who are initiated after a period of three months' instruction, during which they appear to learn chants in a secret language; and probably the woman who officiates at the rites observed on the return of a successful head-hunting expedition belongs to this priesthood. The custom, now unlawful, had a certain justification in that it seems to have been itself a safeguard against other crimes. Skulls seem to be a protection against thieves (p. 24). When we come to the folktales we find head-hunting practised for reasons which seem to be inadequate. Thus Raja Kapitan is attended by the two most beautiful wives of R. Kretan, yet he cuts off their heads merely because he was annoyed at not running down a stag (p. 90). In reprisal R. Kretan beheads two of Kapitan's wives. But both are compensated by R. Bassi, the white man, and agree to accept his rule. Hence the story is clearly quite modern, but has some old and half-forgotten *motifs* as its basis. Equally confused is the tale about dyeing indigo, which is apt to get discoloured if the men are hunting during the process, as the quarry may be white, red, and yellow, and the dye produce those colours instead of 'black,' i.e. dark blue. It seems, too, that dyeing may be spoilt by thunder with its accompaniment of rain (white) and red or yellow (lightning), unless a rite is performed to stop it (p. 81). Apparently men once did not know this rite, and so some dyers

became monkeys, with hands stained black by the indigo, as they were struck by hail (p. 93). Again, the two tales, about Aki Gahuk, 'grandfather' Gahuk, who had seven sons and four daughters (? seven children, including four daughters), and that of Nonok Kurgung, whose four daughters married his three sons, seem to be connected. Both explain how the children of the first parents had to intermarry, and hint that their numerous progeny was decimated by the crocodiles, though an attempt is made to placate the child-eaters by saying that Aki Gahuk, the first crocodile, himself abstained from that diet, while at Nonok Kurgung no such animals were to be found. But other animals are less feared, and so constantly intermarry with men. They must, however, be treated with great circumspection. A bee-wife must never be put to shame by being called a bee-woman (p. 70). A monkey-wife has a right to marital fidelity in the long story of Longaon. Indeed, there seems to be a feeling against re-marriage, even of a widower, but a widow's reluctance is overcome by a trick (p. 116). Possibly some light would be thrown on these ideas by Major E. O. Rutter's paper in the *British North Borneo Herald* of Oct. 1st, 1914, which Mr. Evans says contains "some interesting and original notes on the Dusuns," but is, of course, inaccessible to most of us. A pity that opportunity was not taken to include it in this volume!

The papers on the Malay Peninsula deal with the Negritos, Sakai, and Jakun. The first-named are aborigines and woolly-haired. The Sakai are wavy-haired and, apparently, aboriginal mountain tribes. The Jakun are pagan Malays, seemingly Sumatran by descent. But there is much admixture of races, and some of beliefs. The Negritos, for instance, have the distinctively Moslem legend that a bridge leads to an island Paradise, and that it is not found among their nearer neighbours, the Sakai. Added to this we have the Vaughan-Stevens problem. To some extent Mr. Evans has been able to verify his work, and it would be premature to say that all the rest of it was pure fiction. One may live a lifetime in an Eastern land and after looking for years to find a custom be assured that it does not exist, only to get at last proof that it does. Lastly, the writer doubts if Skeat's analysis of the religious beliefs will stand in its entirety.

The truth seems to be that beliefs among all these tribes are manifold, and very fluid indeed. Thus some Negritos have shamans and shamanistic practices, though Skeat found few traces of demon-worship among them. When we read that one informant told Mr. Evans that there was no *kalak* (*shaman*) in a certain settlement and that he was then told that that informant was himself a *shaman*, we realize the difficulties of getting at facts in the East. The Negrito bird-soul is a case in point. One bird is described as the shadow of all Negrito women and as the midwife's soul, and then its function is said to be the announcement of a pregnancy. Obviously all this is not quite irreconcilable. But that function is also assigned to another bird, which the is bird-soul of young males up to the time of marriage, just as other birds are the souls of unmarried girls and of small children. Yet again, there seem to be tribal or local bird-souls, as the Cheka River Negritos believe that their soul is a species of bee-eater.<sup>1</sup> This looks like totemism breaking down. But Negrito children are named from the tree near which they were born, or from the nearest stream (p. 143). Here we seem to touch Australia.

Still more discrepant are the accounts of the Negrito pantheon, which it may be useful to tabulate below :—



The version of the Grik aborigines :—

Kari ('thunder'), elder brother of Tapern.

×

Yak Manoid's dr. Jamoi.

×

Yak Takel's dr. Julang.

1, 2, and 3 are the three 'grandmothers,' who live under the earth

<sup>1</sup> P. 169. On p. 170, in line 10, 'birds' seems to be a slip for 'cries.'

These three versions are hopelessly at variance. Yet they agree in one point. The *yaks* are earth-mothers and by nature superwomen. The males are of human origin or descent, at least in part, and are raised to the sky. Thus, while Yak Takel is one and, apparently, the senior of the three grandmothers, Kukak is merely her prince-consort, though he is not expressly said to have been human. He is barely mentioned. Tang-ong, Tapern's father in the second version, "did not go to heaven with the other ancestors" even. In the third, both Kari and Tapern met their wives in the sky. Even if the wives go up with their husbands, care is taken to describe the spouses as daughters of two of the earth-mothers.

The principal discrepancy consists in making Jalang Tapern's sister instead of his wife, and Jamoi Bajiaig's sister and not his spouse. But this suggests that originally these matrons were sisters as well as wives to their husbands, a theory borne out to some extent by the tale of Nonok Kurgung in North Borneo, where the seven children born at a birth intermarry of necessity (p. 84).

Much more remains which might be profitably discussed, but a review cannot do full justice to a work which covers so wide a field. The reader will find in it some information on almost any topic which can interest an anthropologist. Unfortunately, the Index<sup>1</sup> is meagre. It omits so essential a word as 'gods.' In a few cases, too, Mr. Evans uses words in too wide a sense. The customs connected with pregnancy on pp. 13 and 268 are inaccurately ascribed to the *comvade*. On p. 226 *shurga* is said to be the Malay (Arabic) for 'heaven,' but we fail to trace such a term in Arabic lexicons. It looks like the Indian *swarga*.

<sup>1</sup> A defective index may be to some extent redeemed by the insertion of guiding head-lines, but in this book all we get is "British North Borneo" for 133 pages, and "The Malay Peninsula" for the rest. It would have been no great task for the Cambridge University Press to print the chapter titles as headings instead of (most unnecessarily) reprinting them on pp. 1 and 134, thus duplicating the table of Contents. To the busy worker this omission is wasteful of his time. For example, pp. 197-262 should at least have been headed "Sakai Customs and Beliefs."

But a good many terms do look to the casual reader like distorted Arabic words, and a large material is here to hand for philological inquiry.

H. A. ROSE.

#### SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

EUSKO-FOLKLORE: PUBLICACIÓN DE EUSKO-LEKAS-KUNTZU: SOCIEDAD DE ESTUDIOS VASCOS. MATERIALES Y CUESTIONARIOS.

WE have received a number of leaflets with the above title. They are published by the Society of Basque Studies, and contain several variants current among the Basques of the legend of Polyphemus and other tales, given both in Basque and Spanish. It is to be hoped that this attempt to arouse the interest of Spaniards and Basques in Basque folklore may prove successful. It is clear that the Basques possess a considerable fund of folklore which should be of great interest to students.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

ITALIAN FOLK TALES AND FOLK SONGS. Edit. by F. A. G. COWPER. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1923. Sm. 8vo, pp. viii+166. \$1.40.

PROF. COWPER, of Trinity College, North Carolina, has published as a reading book in Italian this well-chosen selection from familiar collections of 15 tales, 32 *rispetti*, 25 *stornelli*, and 120 proverbs, adapted from the dialectic originals to conform with standard Italian speech. They are accompanied by an introduction, notes, and a sufficient vocabulary, and seem admirably adapted for their purpose. The *format* is very convenient, and there can be no better first book for the student who seeks to study not only the Italian language but the people who use it.

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